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EGYPT OF THE PHARAOHS

AND OF

THE KEDIVÉ.

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ac.

BY

BARHAM ZINCKE,

TEAD, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN.

HENUM.

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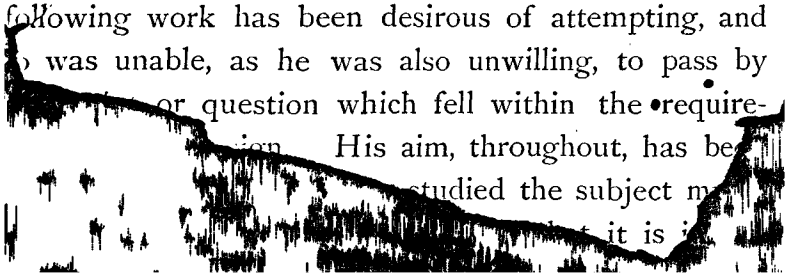
INTRODUCTION.

THOSE particulars of the History of Egypt, and of its present condition, in which it differs from other countries, are factors of the idea this famous name stands for, which must be brought prominently into view in any honest and useful construction of the idea. Something of this kind, is what the author of the following work has been desirous of attempting, and to was unable, as he was also unwilling, to pass by or question which fell within the require-



ion. His aim, throughout, has be studied the subject m it is

this year. It is, indeed, the notes actually [illegible] the time, and with the objects before him, but [illegible] quently revised, and methodically arranged, w[illegible] occasional expansions and omissions. As he started for Egypt at a few hours' notice, it did not occur to him to take any books with him: this will in some measure account for the disposition manifested throughout to follow up the trains of thought Egyptian objects suggest. He has retained this part of his notes not only because it was necessary for what came to be the design of the work, but also because, had it been excluded, the work would have ceased to be something real; for then it would not have been what it professes to be, a picture of that particular train of thought which the sights of Egypt actually produced in the author's mind.

[illegible] WHERSTEAD VICARAGE, *May* 13*th*, 18[illegible]

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DEDICATION.

To my Stepson, Francis Seymour Stevenson,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK;

IN THE HOPE THAT ITS PERUSAL MAY SOME DAY CONTRIBUTE
TOWARDS DISPOSING HIM TO THE STUDY
OF NATURE AND OF MAN,
FOR TRUTH'S SAKE.

EGYPT OF THE PHARAOHS,

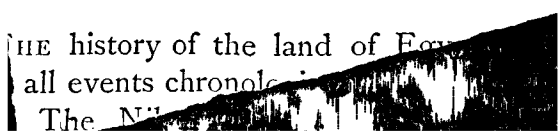
AND OF

THE KEDIVÉ.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT AND THE NILE.

Quodque fuit campus, vallem decursus aquarum
Fecit.——OVID.



who heard of Egypt and of the Nile have been desiring to know what and where were the hidden sources of the strange and mighty river which alone had made Egypt a country and rendered it habitable.

Nowhere, in modern times, has so much interest been felt about this earliest and latest problem of physical geography as in England; and no people have contributed so much to its solution as Englishmen. At this moment the whole of the civilized world is concerned at the uncertainty which involves the fate of one of our countrymen, the greatest on our long roll of African explorers, who has now, for some years, been lost to sight in the perplexing interior of this fantastic continent, while engaged in the investigation of its great and well-kept secret; but who, we are all hoping, may soon be restored to us, bringing with him, as the fruit of his long and difficult enterprise, its final and complete solution. Thoughts of this kind do not stand only at the threshold of a tour in Egypt, as it were, ...iting one to undertake it, but accompany one ... deepening the varied interest there is so ... Egyptian objects to awaken. ... which forces itself on th... How was th...

ater part of the work. That it was formed in way was suggested to me by its resemblance to valley of the Platte above Julesburg, as it may be een even from a car of the Pacific Railway. You there have a wide valley, like Egypt, perfectly flat, bounded on either side by limestone bluffs, sometimes inclined at so precipitous an angle that nothing can grow upon them, excepting, here and there, a conifer or two, and sometimes at so obtuse an angle that the slopes are covered with grass. These varying inclinations reproduce themselves in the bounding ranges of the valley of Egypt. The Platte writhes, like a snake, from side to side of its flat valley, cutting away in one place the alluvium, all of which it had itself deposited, and transporting it to another. It is continually silting up its channel, first in one place, and then in another, with bars and banks, which oblige the stream to find itself another channel to the right or left. The bluffs, though now generally at a considerable distance from er, must have been formed by it, when it was against one, and sometimes agains sometimes also for lo way

the simple-minded incomparable old Chronicl[illegible] recourse on this occasion was that of a supp[illegible] symmetrical fitness in Nature. There is the R[illegible] Sea, a long narrow gulf, a very marked figure in the geography of the world, trending in from the south, on the east side of the Arabian Hills. There ought, therefore, to be on the west side of the Arabian Hills a corresponding gulf trending in from the north. Otherwise the Arabian Gulf would be unbalanced. That necessary gulf had been where Egypt now is. The demonstration was complete. Egypt must have been an arm of the sea, which had been gradually expelled by the deposit from the river. This argument, however, is not unassailable, even from the fitness-of-things point of view. Had the fitness-of-things been in this matter, and in this fashion, a real agent in Nature, it should have made the valley of Egypt somewhat more like the Red Sea in width; and it should also have interdicted its being filled up with mud. It should have had the same reason[illegible] ower for maintaining it which it had [illegible] king it. In this way [illegible] an to[illegible]

just what you would expect on the supposition that it was the river that had cut out the valley.

We are sure, at all events, of one step in this process. For there is incontrovertible evidence that, in the historical period, the river flowed at a level twenty-seven feet higher that it does at present, as far down as Silsileh. In several places, down to that point, may be found the Nile alluvium, deposited on the contiguous high ground at that height above the highest level the river now reaches in its annual inundations. There is, besides, the old deserted channel from a little below Philæ to Assouan, into which the river cannot now rise. Here, then, is the evidence of Nature.

We have also the testimony of man to the same fact, contemporary testimony inscribed on the granite. Herodotus tells us, that from the time of Mœris, the Egyptians had preserved an uninterrupted register of the annual risings of the Nile. This Mœris of the Greeks was Amenemha III., one of the last kings of the primæval monarchy, before the invasion of the Hyksos. This register was preserved both in a written record, in which the height of the inundation was given in figures for each year: this is what Herodotus mentions; and also in engraved markings on suitable river-side rocks. Of these markings, we, fortunately, have a series at Semnéh, in Nubia. Sesortesen II., the father of Amenemha III., had conquered Nubia. This event took place between two and three thousand years before our era. To secure his conquest, he built a strong castle on the perpendicular granite cliffs at Semnéh, between which the Nile had cut its channel. His son, not content with instituting the written register Herodotus mentions, ordered that the height of the inundation should, each year, be inscribed on

the granite cliffs of Semnéh, which had been fortified by his father, and where an Egyptian garrison was kept. This castle, little injured by time, is still standing. Here was the most appropriate place for such a register. It was the actual bank of the river; it was perpendicular; it was indestructible; it measured all the water that came into Egypt. Amenemha must have been familiar with the place, for it was the custom of the princes to accompany the king in war. Now, there are thirteen of Amenemha's inscriptions at this day on this cliff. Each gives a deeply-incised line for the height of the rising, and under it is an hieroglyphic inscription, informing us that that line indicates the height to which the river rose in such and such a year of Amenemha's reign. In every instance the date is given. In the reign of Amenemha's successor, the invasion of the Hyksos took place, terminated the old monarchy, and for four hundred years threw everything into confusion. But, what we are concerned with, is the fact that in the reign of this king and his successor, the Nile rose, on an average, twenty-four feet above the level to which it rises now.

Here, then, are two witnesses, Nature and Man. The coincidence of their testimony is as clear and complete as it is undesigned. It may, therefore, be accepted as an undoubted fact, that the Nile is now flowing from Semnéh to Silsileh at a level lower by at least twenty-four feet than it did at the date of the inscriptions. Nature says there was a time when it rose at least twenty-seven feet higher than at present, for at that height it deposited alluvium. There is no discrepancy in these three additional feet, though there would have been a discrepancy had Nature indicated three feet less than the markings.

The only question for us to consider is, how this was brought about. It could have been brought about only in one way, and that was by the river deepening its channel. As far down as Silsileh it had been flowing at a higher level. Here there must have been a cataract, or an actual cascade. Whatever the form of the obstruction, the stream carried it away. And so, again and again, working backwards, it ate out for itself a deeper channel all the way up to Semnéh. This is just how the Niagara river is dealing with its channel. It has undertaken the big job of deepening it, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, down to the level of Ontario. The stone it has to work in is very hard and compact. It has now done about half the work, and every one sees that it will eventually complete it. All that is required is time. The River Colorado, we are told, runs for six hundred miles of its course in a cañon, a mile in perpendicular depth, all cut through rock, and some of it granitic.

This is what the Nile did in the historic period for at least two hundred miles of its course. It planed down this part of its channel to a lower level, to what may be called the level of Egypt. Why should it not have done precisely the same work in the pre-historic period for—say, the four hundred miles from Silsileh to Cairo? That is just what I believe it did. Of course, there were aboriginal facilities which decided it upon taking that course. There may also have been greater depressions in some places than in others. There was harder work here, and lighter work there. The planing was carried on rapidly in one district, and slowly in another. But I believe that, after making whatever deductions may be thought proper for aboriginal depressions, it is safe to conclude that the

valley of Egypt was, in the main, cut out by the Nile It did not begin to obtain its abrading power after the reign of Amenemha III.

There may have been a cataract once at Cairo When this was carried away, another must have been developed somewhere above its site, and so on backwards all the way to Silsileh, where we are sure that there was once something of the kind. In a still remoter past the river may not have come as far north as Cairo, but may have passed through the Faioum, or by the Natron Lakes, into the desert. This is a question which, to some degree, admits of investigation.

The river would not always bear on the same side of the valley. A little change in any part of the channel, and which might result from any one of a variety of causes, would deflect its course. It is so with all rivers. These causes are always everywhere at work. The river would thus be always shifting from one side of the valley to the other, and, impinging in turn on the opposite bounding hills, would always be widening the valley.

The number of side canals, especially the Bahr Jussuf, which, throughout almost the whole length of the valley, is a second Nile, running parallel to the original river, must, during the historical period, by lessening the volume of water in the main channel have very much lessened its power of shifting its course. But every one who voyages on the Nile will become aware that this power is still very great. He will often hear and see large portions of the bank falling into the water. In many places he will observe the fresh face of recent landslips. On the summit of these slips he will occasionally see interior sections of

some of the houses of a village which is being carried away by the stream.

On the fresh faces of recent slips I often observed that the stratification was unconformable and irregular. This indicated that the sand and mud out of which the alluvium had been formed, had not been deposited at the bottom of a quiet lake-like inundation, but must have been formed at the bottom of a running stream, precisely in the same way as the sand-banks and mud-banks of the existing channel are always at the present time being formed. This irregular stratification is just what we might expect to find in the alluvium of a valley through which runs a mighty river, always restlessly shifting its channel to the right or to the left.*

I was not in Egypt during the time of the inundation; I can therefore only repeat on the authority of others, that for the first few days it has a green tint. This is supposed to be caused by the first rush of the descending torrents sweeping off a great deal of stagnant water from the distant interior of Darfour. This green Nile is held to be unwholesome, and the natives prepare themselves for it by storing up, in anticipation, what water they will require for these few days. The green is succeeded by a red tint. This is caused by the surface washing of districts where the soil is red. The red water, though heavily charged with soil, is not unwholesome. With respect to the amount of red in the colour of the water of the inundation, I found it stated in a work which is some-

* I was glad to hear in the lecture delivered by Professor Owen at Stafford House on the 12th of June, that he had accepted the view I have submitted to my readers in this chapter, and which I had propounded to him last December on the Nile, of the *modus operandi* by which Egypt had been formed.

times quoted as an authority on Egyptian subjects, that it was such that the water might be mistaken for blood. This I do not understand, as the soil this water leaves behind has in its colour no trace of red. By the time the water of the inundation reaches the Delta, it has got rid of the greater part of its impurities. This causes the rise of the land in the Delta to be far slower than in Upper Egypt. In winter, when the inundation has completely subsided, the water, though still charged with mud, in which, however, there is no trace of red, is pleasant to drink, and quite innocuous. The old Egyptians represented in the wall-paintings these three conditions of the river by green, red, and blue water.

For myriads of years this mighty river has been bringing down from the highlands of Abyssinia and Central Africa its freight of fertile soil, the sole means of life, and of all that embellished life, to those who invented letters and built Karnak. It is still as bountiful as ever it was of old to the people who now dwell upon its banks; but to what poor account do they turn its bounty! How great is the contrast between the wretchedness this bounty now maintains and the splendour, the wealth, the arts, the wisdom maintained four and five thousand years ago!

The Egyptians have a saying, with which, I think, most of those who have travelled in Egypt will agree, that he who has once drunk the water of the Nile will wish to drink it again.

CHAPTER II.

HOW IN EGYPT NATURE AFFECTED MAN.

> Continuo has leges, æternaque fœdera certis
> Imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primum
> Deucalion vacuum lapides jactavit in orbem.——VIRGIL.

THE physical features, and peculiarities of a country are one of the starting-points in the history of its people. If we do not provide ourselves with this knowledge before we commence our investigation of what the people were, and did, the character of the people, and of the events is sure very soon to make us feel the want of it. It is so in a higher degree with the history of the Egyptians, than with that of any other people. They were, emphatically, a people that stood alone, and the peculiarities of the people were the direct result of the peculiarities of the country.

Its environment by the desert, gave it that security which alone in early days could have enabled nascent civilization to germinate and grow. It possessed also a soil and climate which enabled its inhabitants to devote themselves to some variety of employments and pursuits, and prevented their being all tied down to the single task of producing food. The absence of these two great natural advantages elsewhere placed insurmountable difficulties in the way of advancement

in other parts of the world, as long as the arts by which man battles with nature were few, and feeble and the organization of society in consequence only rudimentary. So was it for instance in Europe at the time when Egypt was at the zenith of its greatness where, too, for long centuries afterwards, nothing could have been done without the aid of slavery, which alone made mental culture possible for the few at the cost of the degradation and misery of the many. Egypt was differently circumstanced. There one man might produce food sufficient for many. The rest, therefore could devote themselves to other employments which might tend in different ways to relieve man's estate and embellish life. In this matter the river and the climate were their helpers. The river, manured with an annual warp, irrigated, cleaned, and softened the land; and the climate, working harmoniously with the river, made the operations of agriculture easy, speedy certain, and very productive. What in other countries and in later times, the slow advances in arts, and knowledge, and in social organization, as the successive steps become possible, brought about for their respective inhabitants, Nature did, in a great measure once, and from the first, for the Egyptians.

Another of the early hindrances to advancement arose out of the difficulties of communication, which prevented either a military force from maintaining itself away from home, or a single governing mind from acting at a distance. Of course in matters of this kind the effects of the want of sufficient means of communication are greatly aggravated by the want of foresight and the distrust men have in each other which belong to such times and circumstances. Nothing but the organization of tribes and cities can

accomplished then. Egypt, however, had advantages in the great and varied gifts of Nature to which our attention is now directed, which enabled her, in some remote prehistoric period, to emerge from this politically embryonic condition, and to form a well-ordered and homogeneous state, embracing a population of several millions, who were in possession of many the elements of wealth and power, and had attained a condition that would suggest and encourage ture. Of these advantages, that which came next order to the soil and climate, was that its good une had conferred upon it a ready-made means of mmunication, absolutely complete and perfect; no t of the country, either in the valley of Egypt, or he Delta, being more than a few miles distant from of the most easily navigable rivers in the world.

And that nothing might be wanting, this advange was equalised to all by a provision of nature that, a certain season of the year, the descending current the river should, for the purposes of navigation, be rbalanced by a long prevalence of northerly winds; is giving every facility, by self-acting agencies, to h the up and the down traffic.

I may also observe that the river ran precisely in t direction in which it could serve most effectually a bond of union by serving most largely as a nnel of commerce. If its course had been along same parallel of latitude, that is, from East to st, or reversely, then throughout its whole length productions of its banks would have been the e. It would, therefore, have been of little use as eans of commercial interchange. Where there was variety of productions there would have been o mmodities to exchange. But as its course was in

the direction of longitude, its stream offered a highway for the exchange of the varying products of the different degrees of latitude it passed through. This difference in the direction of their courses already constitutes a vast difference in the comparative utility of the streams of the Amazon and of the Mississippi, and must ensure to them very dissimilar futures.

Another of the provisions that had been made for the early progress of the country was something quite unique: there was not by Nature, and there could not be constructed by man, a single strong place in the whole of Egypt, such as would enable powerful and ambitious individuals, or malcontent factions of the people, to maintain themselves in independence of the rest of the community, or to defy the government. Nature had supplied no such places, and the conditions of the country were such that they could not be formed. This is a point of so much importance that I will return to it presently.

It ought not to be unnoticed here, for it is one of the important peculiarities of the country, that Egypt yields both a winter and a summer harvest. The overflow of the river, and the warmth of the winter sun suffices for the former, and artificial irrigation for the latter. This gives it the advantage of two climates, the one temperate and the other tropical; for though it is north of the tropic its temperature is rendered tropical through its environment by the heat-accumulating desert. Egypt is thus enabled to exceed all other countries in the variety of its produce. Both its wheat and its cotton are grown beneath its palms. This variety of produce ought to contribute largely to the wealth, and well-being of the country; and it was, we know, a very considerable ingredient in the greatness of the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

The characteristics of surrounding Nature had corresponding effects on the ideas and sentiments of the ancient Egyptians. We may, for instance, be absolutely certain that had they lived in an Alpine country, although they might have had the power of commanding the requisite materials on easier terms, they never would have built the Pyramids, for then an Egyptian pyramid would have been but a pigmy monument by the side of Nature's pyramids. But as they stood in Egypt, when seen from the neighbourhood of Memphis and Heliopolis, and throughout that level district of country, they went beyond Nature. There they were veritable mountains; and that is what the word means. There were no other such mountains to be seen. In that was their motive. Man had entered into rivalry with Nature, and had outdone Nature.

So was it with one instance. And so was it on the whole, generally. The guise in which Nature presented herself to the eye of the Egyptian was grand and simple. Nature to him meant the broad beneficent river; the green plain; the naked bounding ridge on the right hand, and on the left; upon, and beyond these the lifeless, colourless desert; above, the azure depth traversed by the unveiled sun by day, and illumed with the gleaming host of heaven by night. Here were just five grand natural objects, and there were no more. We rehabilitating to our mind's eye the scene, must add a sixth, the orderly, busy, thronging community itself. But to them these five objects were all Nature. No dark forests of ancient oak, and pine; no jutting headlands; no island-sown seas; no hills watered from above; nor cattle upon a thousand hills; no springs running among the hills; no shady valleys;

no smoking mountains. Just five grand objects; everywhere just the same, and nothing else. Their thoughts and sentiments could only be a reflection of Nature (their mind as a glass reflected Nature) and of the instincts which the form of society Nature had imposed upon them gave rise to. And their acts could only be the embodiment of their thoughts and sentiments, which must needs be in harmony with surrounding Nature. And so it was: they were grand and simple; but withal sensibly hard, somewhat rigid and formal, without much tenderness of feeling, with little geniality; solid, grave, and serious.

Under such circumstances the individual was nothing. There could be no Homeric Chieftains; no Tribunes of the people; no eccentricities of genius. The community was an organism, of which every member had his special functions and purpose; a well-ordered machine which did much work, and did it smoothly.

This complete organization of society—it was what the gifts and arrangements of Nature had enabled them to attain to—had brought them face to face with the ideas of law and justice. But under their form of society—and it has not been different under other forms the world has since seen—it was understood that some laws which were necessary were not good, and that justice did not rule absolutely. We see—it shows itself in all that they did—that their minds were too thorough and logical to rest satisfied under these contradictions; they therefore worked out for themselves to its legitimate and complete development the old Aryan thought of a life beyond this present existence: this was that western world of theirs, in which no law would be bad, and in which there would

be no miscarriage of law, or justice. And thus it came to be that their doctrine of a future life was the apotheosis of their social ideas of law, and justice and right.

And Nature encouraged them in this belief. Every day they saw the sun expire in the desert; and the next morning rise again to life. They saw also the mighty river always moving on to annihilation in the great sea, just as the sun sank every evening into the desert: but still it was not annihilated. Its being was lost and was recovered at every moment. It was ever dying, but equally it was ever living. These two great phenomena of Nature aided the idea which the working of society was making distinct in their apprehension, and confirmed them in the belief of their own immortality. With the Egyptian also death would not be the end: the renewal he beheld in the sun and in the river would not fail himself.

The complete organization of the whole population had been rendered possible by the peculiar advantages of the country. The enterprising among the Pharaohs availing themselves of this complete organization, and of these peculiar advantages, were thereby enabled to command the whole resources of Egypt, and to wield the whole community at their will, as if it had been an individual.

I reserved for more full consideration the point that Nature had nowhere provided Egypt with a single spot where the ambitious, the discontented, or the oppressed could maintain themselves; or to which, we may add, they could even secede. In this respect also, Egypt is quite unique. This results from the configuration of the country, combined with the absence of rain. The valley of Egypt, speaking

roundly, is five hundred miles long, and five miles wide, with a broad navigable river flowing through the midst of it. The government will always be in possession of the river. It follows then that before the disaffected can be drawn together in formidable numbers at any rendezvous—for the distances they would have to traverse would not admit of this—the Government will be able to send troops by the river in sufficient force to disperse them; or, at all events, to prevent their receiving reinforcements.

A second reason is, that these handfuls of isolated insurgents must always remain within reach of the Government troops sent against them. They would not be able to withdraw themselves from the flat, open banks of the river; for there is nowhere vantage ground they could occupy except in the desert; and there in twenty four hours, that is before they could be starved, they would by thirst be reduced to submission. For, from the absence of rain, there are no springs on the high ground; and from the same cause the nitre accumulates in the soil to such a degree, as to render the well-water brackish, and unfit for drinking.

A third reason is the dependence of the agriculture of Egypt on irrigation. The people, therefore, in any neighbourhood cannot intermit their attention to their shadoofs and canals for the purpose of insurrection, or for any other purpose whatsoever. Were they to do so starvation would ensue. The Government also, being in possession of the river, could at any moment stop the irrigation by destroying the shadoofs and canals of a malcontent district.

Here, then, are three reasons, any one of which would singly be sufficient to make the Government in

Egypt omnipotent. What conceivable chance, then, can the people have when all the three are at all times combined against them? This explains much in the past and present history of the country. Nature had decided that in it there should be no strongholds for petty potentates, no castles for freebooters, no mountain fastnesses for untameable tribes, no difficult districts to harbour insurgent bands. For long ages the wandering Arab of the desert was the only possible disturber of its peace. Nature first gave to it, in its singular endowments, the means of union; and then eliminated those physical obstacles to its realization which, elsewhere, for long ages proved insurmountable. The point to be particularly noted here is, that these circumstances have ever given to the Government for the time being every natural facility for making itself a despotism.

The Delta is no exception, for the branches of the river, and the canals by which this whole district is permeated, and the absence of defensible positions, reduce it in respect of the points I have been speaking of, to the same condition as that of the long narrow valley above it.

A time may come when the moral force of public opinion will outweigh and overmatch these natural facilities for establishing and working a despotism; but there is no indication in the existing condition of the country of such a time being at hand. And that this is the only force that can be of any effect in such a country is demonstrated by its history. In the remote days of its greatness there was in some sort a substitute for it in the priestly municipal aristocracy, or oligarchy of each city. The priests were the governing class, and supplied the magistracy. They

were an united and powerful body. Wealth, religion, knowledge, the habitual deference of the people made them strong. They thus became, to some considerable extent, a bulwark, behind which, in each separate city, some of the rights of persons and of property could find protection from the arbitrary caprices of despotism. In this way something that was in the mind of man was at that time counterworking the consequences of physical arrangements.

Nothing of this kind is now at work in modern Egypt. It has, therefore, but one ground for the hope of escaping from the despotism which so heavily oppresses it, and that is in the chance of external aid, which means the chance that some European power should assume the protectorate of the country. It must, however, be a power in which public opinion is in favour of liberty and political justice, and in which the economical value of security for person and property is understood. The Egyptians themselves desire such a consummation. They know how blessed to them would be the day which should relieve them from the grinding and senseless exactions of an Oriental taskmaster, and place them under the sway of good and equal laws. Their wish is, that this beneficent protector should be England. They almost expect that it will be. I was asked, why do you not come and take possession of the country? In Egypt this appears the natural conclusion of existing conditions. But a protectorate carried out thoroughly and unflinchingly, and entirely for Egyptian objects, would be far better for both parties than simple English possession. If we were to make a gain by ruling the country, we should always be tempted to go a little further. We should find it very difficult to

stop at any particular point, or to be clean-handed at all when everything was in our power.

The motives for interference are strong. How saddening is it to the traveller to see the poor good-natured fellah, his naked limbs scorched by the blazing sun, baling up the water from the river, during the livelong day, for his little plot of ground; and to think that all that will be left to him of its produce will be barely enough to keep himself and his little ones in millet-bread and onions; all the rest having been cruelly swept away to support at Cairo unused and unuseable palaces and regiments, and to make a Suez Canal for the furtherance of the policy of France, but for the naval and commercial benefit of England, and to build sugar-factories for a trading Kedivé. Of what benefit to the wretched cultivator are all the bounties of Egyptian nature, and all his own heavy moil and toil? This is one of the remorseless, and purposeless oppressions done under the sun, which it would be well that some modern Hercules should arise in his might, and in his hatred of such heartless injustice, to beat down, and make a full end of. An Egypt in which every man might reap securely the fruit of his labour, would be a new thing in the modern world, and a pleasant thing to look upon.

The case of the poor fellah is very hard, but so is that of his palm-tree also. It came into existence, and grew up to maturity under great difficulties. It was hardly worth while to give it space and water, and to fence it round in its early days; for so soon as it could bear a bunch of fruit, it was to be taxed. Why, then, should the oppressed villager go to the cost of rearing it? He would be only toiling for a distant despot, or bond-holder. How many a palm-tree that might now

be helping to shade a village, and beneath which the children might be playing, and the elders sitting, has by this hard and irrational impost, been prevented from coming into being. And of all the gifts of Nature to Egypt, this palm-tree is one of the most characteristic and of the most useful: its trunk supplies the people with beams; its sap is made into a spirit; its fruit is in some districts a most useful article of food, and everywhere a humble luxury; baskets are made of the flag of its leaf, and from the stem of the leaf, beds, chairs, and boxes; its fibres supply materials for ropes and cordage, nets and mats; it has, too, its history in Egypt, for its shaft and crown, first suggested to the dwellers on the banks of the Nile, in some remote age, the pillar and its capital. A wise ruler, whether his wisdom was that of the head or of the heart, would do everything in his power to induce his people to multiply, throughout the land, what is so highly useful, and in so many ways. But the plan despotic wisdom adopts is to kill the bird that lays the golden egg, and by a process which shall at the same time cause as few as possible of the precious kind to be reared for the future.

Every traveller in the valley of the Nile who can think and feel finds his pleasure at the sight of the graceful form of this beneficent tree clouded by the unwelcome recollection of the barbarous and death-dealing tax that is laid upon it.

If, when the Turkish empire falls to pieces, England should shrink from undertaking on her own sole responsibility the protectorate of Egypt, the great powers of Europe, together with the United States of America, might, as far as Egypt is concerned, assume the lapsed suzerainty of the Porte, and become the protectors of Egypt conjointly.

CHAPTER III.

WHO WERE THE EGYPTIANS?

Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.—*Latin Saying.*

WHAT were the origin and affinities of the ancient Egyptians? To what race or races of mankind did they belong? At what time, whence, and by what route did they enter Egypt? The answers to these questions, if attainable, would not be barren.

We have just been looking at the physical characteristics of the country, and noting some of the effects they must have had on the character and history of the people. The inquiry now indicated, if carried to a successful issue, will enable us, furthermore, to understand, to some extent, what were the aboriginal aptitudes the people themselves brought with them. These were the moral and intellectual elements on which the influences of Nature had to act. The result was the old Egyptian. He was afterwards modified by events and circumstances, by increasing knowledge, and by the laws and customs all these led to; but the two conditions we are now speaking of were the starting-points, and which never ceased to have much influence in making this people feel as they felt, and enabling them to do what they did. To have acquired, therefore, some knowledge about them is to have got possession

of some of the materials that are indispensable for reconstructing the idea of old Egypt. We feel with respect to these old historical people as we do about a machine: we are not satisfied at being told that it has done such or such a piece of work; we also want to know what it is within it which enabled it to do the work—what is its construction, and what its motive power.

Six thousand years before our own time may be taken as the starting-point of the monumental and traditional history of the old monarchy. This inquiry, however, will carry us back to a far more remote past.

There is but one way of treating this question: that is, to apply to it the method we apply to any question of science—to that, for instance, of gravitation, or to any other: precisely the same method applied in precisely the same way. We must collect the phenomena; and the hypothesis which explains and accounts for them all is the true one. This will act exclusively: in establishing itself it will render all others impossible.

Other hypotheses, however, which have been, or may be, entertained must not be passed by unnoticed, in order that it may be understood that they do not account for the phenomena; or, to put it reversely, that the phenomena contradict them.

When history begins to dawn, the first object the light strikes upon, and which for a long time alone rears its form above the general gloom, is the civilization of Egypt. It stands in isolation, like a solitary palm by the side of a desert spring. It is also like that palm in being a complete organism, and in producing abundance of good fruit. All around is absolute desert, or the desert sparsely marked with the useless forms of desert life. On inquiry we find that this

thoroughly-organized civilization, fully supplied with all the necessaries, and many of the embellishments of life, and which is alone visible in the dawning light, must have existed through ages long prior to the dawn. It recedes into unfathomable depths of time far beyond the monuments and traditions.

Some salient particulars at once arrest our attention. The people, though African by situation, have in them evidently very little that can be regarded as African affinities. If there be any, they are not moral, or intellectual, but physical. They appear to be more akin to the inhabitants of the neighbouring Arabian peninsula, from which there is a road into Egypt. But here also the resemblances are not great: even that of language is far from conclusive. Their complexion, too, is fairer. On neither side is there any suspicion or tradition of kindred. There is even deep antipathy between the two races. Their religion, again, and religion is the *summa philosophia*—the outcome of all the knowledge, physical and moral, of a people, is unlike that of their neighbours. The Greeks, however, and this is worthy of remark, thought it only another form of their own. They were laborious, skilful, and successful agriculturists; and there was no record of a time when it had been otherwise with them. They were great builders. They had always practised the ordinary arts of life, spinning and weaving, metallurgy, pottery and tanning, and carpentering. They had always had tools and music. They had a learned and powerful priesthood. Their form of government was that of a monarchy supported by privileged classes, or of an aristocracy headed by a king, and resting on a broad basis of slavery, and a kind of serfdom. Their social order was that of castes.

We cannot ascertain precisely at what point in the valley this civilization first showed or established itself. Of two points, however, which are of importance, we are sure. It did not descend the Nile from Ethiopia, and it did not ascend it from the coast of the Delta. It is true that Memphis was the first great centre of Egyptian life of which we have full and accurate knowledge. The founder, however, of the first historical dynasty, and who appears to have made Memphis his capital, came from This, or Abydos, in Upper Egypt. We may almost infer from this that Abydos was an earlier centre of Egyptian power than Memphis.

The idea, then, of an African origin may be at once and summarily dismissed.

Something may be alleged in support of a Semitic origin. Where, however, we may ask, is the theory on behalf of which nothing can be alleged? If it were so it would never have come into existence. What we have to consider in this, as in every doubtful or disputed matter, is not what can be said in favour of certain views, or what can be said against them, but which way the balance inclines when the arguments on each side have been fairly put into their respective scales.

To begin, then, with the language, which is the most obvious ground for forming an opinion in a matter of this kind. It happens that in this case nothing decisive can be concluded from the language. First, because in the language no decisive Semitic affinities have been made out; and, secondly, because, had they been found to be much more important than some have supposed them to be, this would not of itself prove a preponderance of Semitic blood.

Colour is rather adverse to the Semitic theory. The Egyptian was not so swarthy as the Arab; whereas, if he had been a Semite, he ought to have been, at the least, as dark.

It is true he was darker than the Jew. Little, however, can be inferred from this, for the Jews were an extremely mixed people. Abraham came from Haran, in Mesopotamia, and is called in Deuteronomy a Syrian. He must, in fact, have been a Chaldean. The wife of Joseph was a high-caste Egyptian. The wife of Moses was a Cushite. And when the Israelites went up out of Egypt "a mixed multitude" went out with them. This can only mean that in the multitude of those who threw in their lot with them there was a great deal of Arab blood, through the remnant of the Hyksos, which had been left behind when the great mass of that people had been expelled from Egypt, and also a great deal of Egyptian blood. From these sources, then, were derived no inconsiderable ingredients for the formation of what was afterwards the Jewish nation. The great grandmother of David was a Moabitish woman. Solomon's mother was a Hittite, and one of his wives an Egyptian. And we know that a very considerable proportion of conquered Canaanites were eventually absorbed by their conquerors. No argument, therefore, can be founded upon the complexion of so mixed a people as the Jews.

In features, taking the sculptures and paintings for our authority, the Egyptian was not a Semite. His nostrils and lips were not so thin, and his nose was not so prominent. In this particular, which is important, he presents indications of a cross between the Caucasian and the Ethiopian, or modern Nubian.

Their social and political organization — that of

castes and of a well-ordered, far-extended state—was completely opposed to Semitic freedom and equality, in which the ideas of the tribe and of the individual preponderated over those of the state and of classes.

Religion is the interpretation of the *ensemble.* It takes cognizance of the powers that are behind or within visible external nature, and of the reciprocal relations between these powers and man. The mind of man is the interpreter. As is the interpreter so will be the interpretation.

Now, from the hard simplicity of Nature in the Semitic region, or from the simplicity of life and thought resulting from it, or from the early apprehension by that part of the human family of the idea of a Creator, or from other causes not yet made out (though, indeed, it is the fact, and not the cause, that we are now concerned with), there has always been a disposition in the Semitic mind to think of God as one. In the earliest indications we possess of their religious thought each tribe, each city, almost each family, appears to have had its own God. They never could have created a Pantheon. The idea of Polytheism was unnatural, illogical, repulsive to them. The inference, therefore, is that in the large hierarchy of heaven, which approved itself to the Egyptian mind, there could be nothing Semitic. The religion, the religious thought of Egypt, which so stirred the whole heart, and swayed the whole being of the people as to impel them to raise to the glory of their Gods the grandest temples the world has ever seen, was in its whole cast and character an abomination to the Semite.

Next after Religion, the most important effort of the human mind is Law. Law is distinguishable from Religion. It is not an effort to embrace and interpret

the whole, but an application of some of the conclusions of that interpretation to the regulation of the conduct of men towards each other. Its principles are those of justice and expediency, but with very considerable limitations—not absolute justice, but justice as then and there understood; and not in every point and particular, but in those matters only in which evidence is possible, and the observance also of which can be enforced by penalties; nor absolute expediency, but again, as it is then and there understood, and limited to such matters as admit of being carried out and enforced by public authority.

This, it is plain, may be regarded—and as a matter of observation and history is still, and has in all times, been regarded—either as something distinct from, or as a department of, religion.

If treated as a part of religion, then either the very letter itself of the law, or else the principles on which it is founded, and of which it is an application, must be accepted as from God. In the former case God is regarded as the actual legislator, and sometimes going a step farther, as the actual executor of His own law. In the latter case He is regarded, because He is the primary source of its principles, as ultimately their guardian and the avenger of their violation.

The Semitic sentiment, looked upon law in the former of these two lights. It formed this conception of it, because the people held in their minds the two ideas, that God was One, and that He was the Creator. A people who have come to regard God as one will necessarily concentrate on the idea of God all moral and intellectual attributes. This will lead to the exclusion of all merely animal attributes, and, to a great extent, of such phenomena as present themselves

to the thought as merely human—such, for instance, as were the attributes of Mars, Venus, and Mercury. God then, being the perfection of wisdom, justice, and goodness, is the only source of law. He is, also, the actual Lawgiver in right of his being the Creator. The world and all that it contains is His. His will is the law of His creation. The gods of Egypt, however, like those of Greece, were not anterior to Nature, were not the creators of Nature, but came in subsequently to it, and were in some sort emanations from it; the highest conception of them, in this relation, was that they were the powers of Nature.

Now, in this important and governing matter of law, the Egyptian mind did not take the Semitic view. God appeared to the Egyptian, not so much the direct originator, as the ultimate guardian of the law. They had had kings who had been wise legislators, and the complete punishment for violations of the law would be in the life to come.

A review, then, of the whole field makes it appear highly improbable that the Egyptians were Semites.

But if they were neither African nor Semitic, what were they? There are not many alternatives to choose from. The process soon arrives at a complete exhaustion. They must have been—there is no other possible race left—mainly Aryan: that is, of the same race as ourselves.

There is no antecedent improbability in this. That an Aryan wave should have reached the Nile was, indeed, less improbable than that others, as was the case, should have reached the Ganges and the Thames. That one had not, would almost have needed explanation.

That the Egyptians themselves had not the faintest

trace, either of a tradition or of a suspicion that it had been so, is only what we might have been sure of. No other branch of the race, from the Ganges to the Thames, had preserved any record of their ancestors' migrations, or any tradition of their old home, or of their parentage. This only shows—which will explain much—that the migration took place at so remote a period, so long before the invention of letters, that we feel as if it might have resulted from some displacement or variation of the axis of our earth in the glacial epoch.

That the complexion of the Egyptians is not so fair as that of Europeans, is a remark of no weight. Europeans may have become fairer by the operation of causes analogous to those which made the Egyptians darker. The Hindoo, who is indubitably Aryan, is still darker than the Egyptian was. The colour of the Egyptian may have been heightened in precisely the same way as that of the Hindoo: first by intermixture with the previous possessors of the soil; and afterwards increased by exposure through a long series of generations, with but little clothing, to the floods of light and heat of an African sun.

They might, on their arrival, have found an Ethiopic race in possession of the valley of the Nile, and having come from a distance with but few women, may have largely intermarried with the conquered and displaced aborigines.

That there had been some intermixture may be inferred from the complexion of the Egyptians, and from the thickening of their features.

There is also a moral argument in favour of this supposition in the fact that the Egyptians never, even in their best days, showed repugnance to inter-

marriage with the Ethiopians, or even to being ruled by Ethiopian sovereigns. They followed Tirkarah and Sabaco into Syria just as readily as they had followed Sethos and Rameses. We see on the sculptures the Ethiopian Queen of Amenophis.

Had the language been manifestly Aryan in its roots and structure this, under the circumstances, would have been conclusively in favour of our supposition. Its not being so is, however, not conclusive against it. The Northmen, who invaded and settled in Normandy, abandoned their own language, and adopted that of France. The Norman invasion of England led to great modifications of the language, but the new tongue was not that of the invaders. Indeed, it seems only in accordance with what might have been expected—that the non-Aryan element in the people being so strong as, to a great extent, to cloud the Aryan complexion, and coarsen the Aryan features, the language which was ultimately formed, should not have been, to any great extent, Aryan.

We find caste existing in Egypt from the earliest times. This becomes intelligible only on the supposition of an Aryan origin. It is a parallelism to what took place on the ground occupied in India by another offset of this race. Caste could not develop itself spontaneously in the bosom of an indigenous, and homogeneous people. It is impossible to conceive such a phenomenon under such circumstances. It must be the result of two causes : foreign conquest, and pride of blood. As to the former, we are sure that there could have been no other means by which the Egyptians could have been introduced into the valley of the Nile, as they were not indigenous Africans ; and as to pride of blood, we know that this feeling exists so

strongly among Aryan peoples, that it may almost be regarded as one of the characteristics of the race. It was natural, therefore, that, wherever they came to dwell on the same ground with a conquered and subject population of a colour different from their own, they should introduce this or some equivalent organization of society. If they had found a dark race in Europe we should have had caste in Europe; but here the hardness of the struggle for existence in old times, aided by the absence of difference in colour between the conquerors and the conquered, made it impossible. In all European aristocracies, whatever may have been their origin, we can detect traces of this old Aryan disposition towards exclusiveness founded on pride of blood.

In religion, which is for those times one of the surest criteria of race, there was so close an approximation of the gods, and of the whole system of Egypt, to those of Greece, that, as has been observed already, the Greeks supposed that the two were identical. They were in the habit of speaking of the deities of Egypt as the same as their own, only that in Egypt they had Egyptian names. Of course, it is impossible for any people to suppose that the religion of another people is identical with its own, unless the fundamental ideas of the two systems are the same. This similarity, then, indicates that they were both off-sets from the same stock, and that they parted from the old home after the fundamental and governing ideas of the mythology they carried with them had been elaborated there.

But in this matter we may go much further than Greece. If we view all the Aryan religions collectively, we shall find that the one idea that was the life-

giving principle in every one of the whole family was the belief in a future life. The Hindoo and the Persian, the Greek and the Roman, the Gaul and the Briton, all alike, as if by a common instinct, agreed in this. This, therefore, is distinctly Aryan, and no religion from which it is absent could belong to that race. How, then, and this is almost a crucial test, does the religion of old Egypt stand in this matter? Exactly as it ought to do, on the supposition that it had an Aryan origin. This was its central, its formative, its vital idea. It was this that built the thousand mighty temples in which the living might learn those virtues, and practice that piety, which would be their passport to the better world to come. It was this that embalmed the bodies of the dead, whose souls were still alive. Without it the religion of old Egypt could never have been a living force, nor anything but the merest mummy of a religion. At all events, without it, it could have had no origin in Aryan thought.

Another point to be considered is that of artistic tastes and aptitudes. These are shown most conspicuously in the architecture of a people, and the subsidiary architectonic arts of sculpture and painting; they may be followed also into the arts which minister to the conveniences and embellishments of every-day life, and which are chiefly exhibited in the style of the dress of a people, and of the furniture of their houses. Here, again, I think the working of the Aryan mind is seen in old Egypt. Their ideas and tastes in these matters were singularly in harmony with the ideas and tastes that have in all ages developed themselves in the bosom of Aryan communities wherever settled. On the whole, our taste approves of what they did in these applications of man's creative power, the necessary

deductions having been made for the trammels which the fixity of their religious ideas imposed upon them; and for the fact that all that they did were but first unaided essays, uncorrected by comparisons with the arts of other people. When we consider what great disadvantages in this respect they worked under, we must come to the conclusion that no nation ever showed so much invention, or more native capacity for art. We cannot suppose that they borrowed from any other people the idea of the pillar with its ornamented capital; the arch; the ornamentation of buildings with the sculptured and painted forms of man, of animals, and of plants; the use of metallic colours; the art of making glass; the forms of their furniture; the art of embalming the dead; the art of writing; and a multitude of other arts which were in common practice among them in very remote times.

The same may be said of their aptitude for science, which has ever been a distinct characteristic of Aryans, and never of Semites. Science is a natural growth among the former, and has appeared among the latter only occasionally, and then evidently as an exotic. The mechanics, the hydraulics, the geometry, the astronomy, of the old Egyptians were all their own.

We also find among them evidences of a genius for organization in a high degree, and of a singular power of realising to their thoughts, and of working for the attainment of very distant objects, both of which are valuable peculiarities of the Aryan mind, and in both of which the Semitic mind is markedly deficient.

One point more. Herodotus observes that the Egyptians resembled the Greeks in being content each of them with a single wife. On our supposition, this is just what might have been expected. There are no

practices among mankind so inveterate as those connected with marriage, and the ancient Egyptians, having been an off-set from the race of mankind which had originally been monogamic, could not, although they had long been settled in the polygamic region, bring themselves to adopt polygamy. The primæval custom of the race could not be unlearnt. We see, too, from the sculptures that the affectionate relation between husband and wife was rather of the European than of the Asiatic pattern. The wife places her hand on the shoulder or round the arm of the husband, to symbolize unitedness, attachment, and dependence. This is done in a manner one feels is not quite in harmony with Oriental sentiment.

The last questions are—Where did they come from? and, How did they get into Egypt? I have at times thought that they came from the mouth of the Indus, or from the Persian Gulf, and entered Egypt by the way of the Red Sea. If Abydos was the first centre of Egyptian power, and the balance of historical argument inclines towards it, there seems to be no other way of accounting for its having been so than by supposing a landing at Myos Hormos, or Berenice, as they were afterwards called. In one of those harbours I can imagine the *May Flowers* of that old, old world, hauled up upon the beach, and the stout hearts that had crossed in them the Indian Ocean preparing for their inland march across the desert hills to the great valley. The distance is not great. On the third day they will drink the water of the mighty river. The natives they are to encounter are gentle and industrious. They will dispossess them of their land, and enslave them. They will take their daughters for wives. They will increase rapidly in their happy

valley. The language they brought with them will be lost, and a new language formed by their descendants, which will be mainly that of the people they subdued, and with whom they intermarried. The religion, however, and the arts they brought with them, they will never forget; and as the centuries roll on, and they have increased greatly in numbers, and come to have many goodly cities, and much wealth, they will add largely both to their religion and to their arts. But by the time they have added to their other arts that one which will enable them to perpetuate the memory of events, so long a time will have passed that they will have lost all tradition of how their first fathers came into the valley, and how they possessed themselves of it. For them, therefore, the history of Egypt will commence with the discovery of letters; but for us, who are able to recover the history of words, it reaches back into far more distant tracts of time.

There is no reason which should lead us peremptorily to decide against their having come by sea. There is no antecedent improbability. The distant voyages and settlements both of the Phœnicians and of the Normans show what can be achieved in very small vessels. And in the spirit-stirring and invigorating era of the Aryan migrations we may believe that some enterprises of this kind were undertaken.

But this entrance into Egypt must have taken place at so remote a date that the physical features of that part of the world might then have been somewhat different from what they are now. The Dead Sea might not then have been thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and the isthmus we have just seen canalized might then have been navigable water.

But it will make the point in question more distinct if I endeavour to speak more precisely about it. The immigration into Egypt could not possibly have been an offset of the Aryan immigration into India, which resulted in the formation of the Hindoo, or of its westward outflow which resulted in the formation of the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons. These dispersions must, we know, speaking broadly, have been contemporaneous. Their date, however, as has been already observed, was so remote that no one branch of the race retained the slightest trace of a tradition of the original seat of the race, or of the way in which they themselves came to their new home, or of any particulars of the occurrence. We will suppose, then, that the event to which they all belong, and of which each is a part, occurred 20,000 years ago. I merely use these figures to make myself intelligible. But the Aryan immigration into Egypt belongs to a still more remote epoch, and to another order of events. In the stratifications of history its place is far lower down. It is a part of what forms a distinct and more primitive stratum. Again, for the purpose of making my meaning distinct, I will say that it belonged to a series of events which took place 30,000 years ago. The peoples and civilization of Europe, as they now exist, are to be traced back to the first-mentioned of these two world-movements. To that which preceded it may possibly be referred some fragments of a previous condition of things in Europe which have been enigmas to historians and ethnologists, as the Etrurians, the Finns, the Laps, and the Basques. The Egyptians may have been a part of that first original wave coming down freely of their own accord into Egypt. Or they may have been driven out of Persia, or from the banks of

the Indus, at the epoch of the rise and outflow of the second wave. At all events, this is clear, that they were no part of the second wave itself; because their language was older than the Aryan tongue of that epoch. As it was also older than that of the Semitic peoples, they, too, must have come into being after the Egyptians.

CHAPTER IV.

EGYPT THE JAPAN OF THE OLD WORLD.

Nec vero terræ ferre omnes omnia possunt.——VIRGIL.

EGYPT was the Japan of the old world. While Nature had separated it from other countries, she had given it within its own borders the means for satisfying all the wants felt by its inhabitants. They acted on the hint. Their general policy was to seclude themselves, to which, however, their history contains some conspicuous exceptions, and to exclude foreigners. They carried the mechanical arts and all that ministers to material well-being to a high degree of perfection. Like the Japanese, they did this with what they could win from Nature within the boundaries of their own country, and under what we are disposed to regard as very crippling disadvantages. Their moral sentiments, and their social and domestic life, were their own: the results of the working of their own ideas. This is what makes them so full of originality and so interesting a study of human development. All their customs and all that they did were devised by themselves to meet their own especial wants. They were self-contained and confident in themselves that they would always be able to find out both what would be best for them to do, and what would be the best way of doing it.

Their success justified this self-reliance. All the

ordinary, and many of the more refined wants of man, were supplied so abundantly, and in so regular and well-ordered a fashion among them, that a modern traveller would find no discomfort, and much to wonder at and admire, in a year or two spent in such a country as was the Egypt of Rameses the Great. He would, indeed, be a very great gainer if he could find the Egypt of to-day just what Egypt was three thousand years ago.

There are no other moderately-sized countries in the world so well prepared by Nature for a system of isolation and self-dependence as Japan and Egypt.

On a large scale China and the United States possess the same advantage. The action of free trade is to place all countries—even those that may be able to produce but one commodity the world wants, be it wool or labour, gold or iron, or even the power of becoming carriers for others—on the same footing of abundance as the most bountifully supplied, but at the cost of self-dependence, which, in its highest degree, means complete isolation. Free trade equalizes advantages, making the advantage of each the advantage of all. It does for the world on a large scale what the free interchange of no inconsiderable variety of domestic products did on a small scale for Japan and Old Egypt.

With respect to the common arts of every-day life, I think general opinion is somewhat in error in the direction of being unduly disparaging as to the state in which they were throughout the East and on the northern shores of the Mediterranean at the period which precedes the first glimmerings of history. I believe that the knowledge of these arts was throughout that large area spread very generally. Man has no

real tradition of the discovery of these arts any more than he has of the acquisition of the domestic animals and of the most useful of the kinds of grain and fruits he cultivates. What is to the credit of the Egyptians is, that they carried the practice of them to a high degree of perfection, and rendered them singularly fruitful, and that they added to them much which circumstances made it impossible they could have borrowed from any other people. Everything done in Egypt was invested with an Egyptian, just as everything done in Japan has been with a Japanese, character.

CHAPTER V.

BACKSHEESH.—THE GIRL OF BETHANY.

And who will say 'tis wrong.——J. BAILLIE.

ONE meets few travellers in Egypt who do not speak of the incessant demands for backsheesh as an annoyance and a nuisance. The word has become as irritating to their temper as a mosquito-bite is to their skin, and it is quite as inevitable. You engage a boat, a porter, a donkey : in each case you pay two, or three times as much as you ought, and in each case the hand that has received your overpayment is again instantly held out for backsheesh. While on the Nile I gave one morning a cigar to the reis of the boat. On walking away I heard his step behind me. I turned back and found that he was following me to ask for backsheesh. I suppose what passed in his mind was that one who was rich enough and weak enough to give a cigar, without any provocation, would give even money to one who asked for it. A friend of mind rode over a little boy. The urchin, as he lay upon the ground writhing with pain, and incapable of rising, held up his hand, crying out, "I die now, give backsheesh!" An English surgeon sees a man fall, and break his arm. He goes to his assistance and sets the broken limb. The man asks for backsheesh. If

the man who, as he journeyed from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves, had been an Egyptian, he would, at parting, have made the same request of the good Samaritan. An Arab helps you up to the top of the Pyramid. You pay him handsomely, and he is satisfied. You enter into conversation with him, and he tells you that he is the Hakem of his village; that he possesses so many sheep, so many goats, so many asses, so many camels; that his wife he married last, now two years ago, is thirteen years old. You look upon him as a rich man, but while you are thinking so he holds out his hand and asks for backsheesh.

There is, however, nothing in such requests that need cause annoyance or irritation. These children, whether grown up or otherwise—for they never arrive at mental manhood—have nothing in their minds corresponding to our ideas of pride, whether aristocratic, republican, or of any other kind. They look, too, upon you as quite inexhaustibly rich, and they are themselves, generally, very poor. And if you are satisfied with their services—and they certainly always endeavour to do their best; or if you have any good-will towards them, with which they credit you; how is this satisfaction or good-will to be shown? It is ridiculous to suppose that words will suffice. There is but one thing to do, that is to give a little backsheesh. This rational way of settling the matter is the way of the East. And of old, too, we know that "the little present" figured largely in the manners and customs of that part of the world.

In Egypt, then, to blaze up with indignation at the sight of a hand held out towards you, is to misunderstand the people you are among. Moreover, indignation, whatever may be the prompting cause,

is very un-Egyptian. I never met with one who had seen a native lose his temper, under any circumstances, or under any amount of provocation. You may abuse him—you may even beat him; but he still smiles, and is still ready to serve you. In this way he soon makes you feel that you are in the wrong. One cannot be angry with such people.

This ever-present idea of backsheesh may be turned to some account. I found that the only way in which I could extract a smile or a word from the native women was to hold out my hand to them and ask for backsheesh. That the Howaji as he rode by, should turn the tables on them in this way, and invert the natural order of things by constituting himself the petitioner, and elevating them to the position of the dispensers of fortune was enough to upset their gravity and loosen their tongues.

I had gone from Jerusalem to Bethany with a young friend late from Harrow, great in athletics, and full of fun and good spirits. We were on foot, for who would care to go to, or return from Bethany otherwise? We had arrived at the village, and were inquiring for what is shown as the tomb of Lazarus. The women of the place soon collected round us. One of them, in the very prime of youth, looked like a visitant to Earth to remind hapless mortals of the perfectness of Paradise. Her figure would have given Praxiteles new ideas. Her face was slightly oval; her features fine and regular, and her complexion, such as must be rare in an Arab girl, for her lips were of a rich, if of a dusky coral; and the rose gleamed through her nut-brown cheeks. Her eyes thought. Her beauty was about her as a halo of light. To look upon her was fasci-

nation. My admiration was speechless. Not so, however, my young friend's; for, turning to our dragoman, he said, "Ask that young lady if she is married?" My breath went from me at the sudden indignation with which she fired up.

As she walked away, giving utterance as she went to some angry Arabic, I looked into the faces of the women about us. It was evident that they were impressed with and approved of the propriety of her conduct. It will, I thought, be long remembered and quoted in the village as an example of the promptitude and decision with which an Arab girl should guard her reputation.

And now, I said to myself, we are in for it. She will go and fetch her father, or a brother, or some one else, and there will be a row. So I said to my young friend, "This tomb is evidently an imposture. It can only be an excavation in the rock, made by some mediæval monk. Let us go on and look at something else." And so we got away.

As we left the party of women I gave them a little more backsheesh than usual; and I told the dragoman to take us back by a different road from that by which we had come.

We had just cleared the village, and I was congratulating myself on our having got off so speedily, when we encountered a flight of locusts. I soon became absorbed in observing their "numbers numberless." They gave me, I thought, a new idea of multitude. They blurred the sunlight almost like a cloud. I began to capture some of them which I now have preserved in spirits.

While thus occupied, and with a feeling of wonder at the infinitude of living things around us growing

upon me, the apprehensions I had lately felt dropped entirely out of my mind. In this way we went on. When we had got about three-quarters of a mile from the village we came to a turn in the mountain path, far removed from any dwelling, and where all was solitude and quiet. As we approached the corner a young woman stepped forward from behind a projecting rock, and with a gracious look, and most engaging smile, presented my young friend with a carefully-arranged and beautiful bouquet.

Could my eyes be deceiving me? No. It was no other than the exemplary young creature who only half-an-hour back had shown so much and such becoming indignation.

My apprehensions then, and precautions had been unnecessary. But, in American phrase, "How dreffle smart" to combine, in so prompt and graceful a manner, the credit of being good with the pleasure of being good-natured. Could anything have been better imagined in London or Paris?

So it seemed. But *honi soit qui mal y pense.* True, few can be as beautiful, few as keen-witted as the girl of Bethany. But also true that none could have been more free from thought of evil. 'Twas all for backsheesh.

And where two rupees are a marriage portion—so much to them and so little to us—whose heart would condemn the barefooted young tactician?

That day, as she returned to the village, her step, I can think, was lighter than usual. Perhaps she did not observe the mischief the locusts were doing to her father's little plot of wheat.

A few days afterwards as we were riding across the hills to Solomon's Pools—our path lay alongside

of the rude old aqueduct—we came on a party of women washing clothes. It amused them much to be caught in such an occupation, and they were laughing merrily. My young friend, as might have been expected of him, endeavoured to increase the merriment. This he did by leaning over his saddle, and saying, "Ateeni bosa." Had he spoken in English, though of course, it would never have been said in English, the words would have been, "Give me a kiss." The one to whom he appeared more particularly to address himself blazed up with instantaneous indignation just like the girl of Bethany. With angry glance and fierce tone she exclaimed, "May your lips be withered first." But now I felt no apprehensions. My only thought was, that if we came back the same way, and should, by accident, find her alone, she would then, perhaps, hold her hand out and say, "Your lips are a garden of roses: give backsheesh."

CHAPTER VI.

ANTIQUITY AND CHARACTER OF THE PYRAMID CIVILIZATION.

The riddle of the world.——POPE.

THAT the three great Pyramids of Gizeh were erected by Chufu, Schafra, and Menkeres, the Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus of Herodotus, we now know with as much certainty as that the Pantheon was built by Agrippa, and the Coliseum by the Flavian Emperors. We also know with equal certainty that they were built between five and six thousand years ago. From these pyramids to the Faioum extends along the edge of the desert a region of pyramids, and circumjacent necropoleis. Not far from a hundred pyramids have been already noted. These were the tombs of royalty. The uncrowned members of the royal family, the ministers of state, the priests, and the other great men of the dynasties of the Old Monarchy lie buried around. Their tombs, excavated and built in the rock, are innumerable. Some of them reaching seventy feet or more back into the mountain (the tombs of the New Monarchy at Thebes were several times as large), are constructed of enormous pieces of polished granite, most exquisitely fitted together. Some are covered with sculptures and

paintings, traced with much freedom and a grand and pleasing simplicity. They describe the offices, occupations, and possessions, and the religious ideas and practices of those for whom they were constructed.

Great was the antiquity of Thebes before European history begins to dawn. It was declining before the foundations of Rome were laid. Its palmy days antedated that event by as long a period as separates us from the first Crusade. But the building of the Great Pyramids of Gizeh preceded the earliest traditions of Thebes by a thousand years.

In this pyramid region, and its necropoleis, we have a chapter in the history of our race, the importance of which every one can comprehend. It is a history which, while in the main it omits events, gives us fuller and more genuine and authentic materials than any written history could give, for a complete understanding of the every-day life and arts of the people. And the time for which it gives us this information is so remote that there is no contemporary history of any other people which we can compare with it, or with which we can in any way bring it into connection. It has nowhere any points of contact. It is a rich stream of history that runs through a barren waste of early time, like the Nile itself through the Libyan Desert, with a complete absence of affluents.

Having, then, made out the position of this epoch with respect to general history, the next point is to ascertain as distinctly as we can what were the arts, the knowledge, the manners, the customs of the period, that is of those who were buried in these pyramids and necropoleis. When they lived, and what they were, give to them their historic interest and importance.

The mere naked fact that this Great Pyramid was built implies that agriculture was so advanced, and, in consequence, so productive, and that society was so thoroughly organized, that the country could maintain for thirty years 100,000 men while occupied in the unproductive labour of cutting and moving the stones employed in its construction. To which we must add the 100,000 men engaged for the ten previous years upon the great causeway which crossed the western plain, from the river to the site of the Pyramid, and over which all the materials for the Pyramid were brought. Modern Egypt could not do this. We should find it an enormous tax upon our resources.

There is also implied in the cutting and dressing of this vast amount of stone, the supply of a corresponding amount of tools; and as granite was at that time used largely in the construction of some of the tombs and pyramids, it implies that those tools were of the best temper.

It must also be remembered that some of these pyramids had crossed the Nile. The unwieldy and ponderous stones of which they were constructed had been quarried in the Arabian range, and brought across the river to the African range on which the pyramids stand. How much mechanical contrivance does this imply! All these great blocks had to be lifted out of the quarry to be brought down to the river, carried across the river, and then again across the cultivated western plain to the first stage of the Libyan hills. They had to be lowered into the boats and lifted out of them. The inclined causeway was made of dressed and polished blocks of black basalt, a kind of stone extremely difficult to work. It was a mile in length. And when the blocks for the Pyramid

had at last reached the further end of the causeway they had to be lifted into their place in a building that was carried to a height of 480 feet. Herodotus mentions the succession of machines by which they were elevated from the bottom to the top. Their mechanical arrangements then must have been well planned and executed.

In these great works we see that nothing was overlooked or neglected. Everything that could happen was anticipated and calculated with the utmost nicety, and completely and successfully provided for. This would, in itself alone, imply much accumulated knowledge, and habits of mind which nothing but long ages of civilization can give. No rude people can make nice calculations, can take into consideration all the conditions of a problem, or take precautions against what may happen thousands of years after their time.

If then we take these structures, such as we have them now before our eyes, and work out in our minds the conditions, both contemporary and precedent, involved in the single fact of their having been built, we see distinctly that we are not contemplating one of the earlier stages, but a very advanced stage, of civilization. All traces of the inception of the useful arts, and of social organization, are utterly wanting. We have before us a great community which, when seen for the first time, appears, Minerva-like, full-grown and completely equipped.

This is seen with equal distinctness in the representations of the common arts, and ordinary occurences and employments of life, as we find them on the tombs. They are such as belong to a civilized people. Among the former we may instance the manufacture of glass, the enamelling of earthenware with coloured

glazes; and among the latter the making of inventories of the property of deceased persons.

The religion, too, we see, had already attained its full development. Its doctrines were matured, all its symbols had been decided upon, and an order of men had been set apart for the maintenance of the knowledge of it, and for the celebration of its services.

The hierarchy also of society was now completely established, and had been long unhesitatingly acquiesced in. There are no indications here either of growth or of decay, or of any disposition to unsettle anything. The order of society is received as the order of Nature, is administered by a regular form of government, and crowned by a splendid court.

But—and this is as surprising as anything we meet with belonging to those times—they were already in possession of their hieroglyphical method of writing, and were using it regularly and largely in their monumental records. Nor is there any indication of a time when their ancestors had been without it. In this, as in the other matters I have mentioned, there is no substantial difference between the primæval monarchy before the invasion of the Hyksos and the revived monarchy which flourished after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

From whence then did this remote civilization come? Was it indigenous, or was it from abroad? or, if derived from these two sources, in what degree did each contribute? Is there any possibility of recovering any of the early dates, or of at all measuring roughly any of the periods of the early history? I have already said something on these questions, and shall return to them whenever we shall have reached any point from which there may appear to be emitted some ray of light which falls upon them.

CHAPTER VII.

LABOUR WAS SQUANDERED ON PYRAMIDS, BECAUSE IT COULD NOT BE BOTTLED UP.

Faute de mieux.——*French Saying.*

It is essential to the right understanding of any age that we have a general knowledge of its monetary and economical condition. This, which in ordinary histories is passed over with little or no notice, does, in truth, largely affect the character of men's works and deeds, their manners and customs, and even their thoughts and feelings. With respect to the pyramids, who was to build them, the means by which they were to be built, and that they were to be built at all, depended on the monetary and economical condition of the Egypt of that day. To elucidate this is to advance a step in the reconstruction and revivifying of the period.

Herodotus tells us that he saw inscribed on the Great Pyramid how many talents of silver (1,600 was the number) had been expended in supplying the hands employed on the work with radishes, onions, and garlic. He says he had a distinct recollection of what the interpreter told him on the subject. We believe this, because he was no inventor of fables, but an accurate and veracious recorder of what he saw

and heard. The idea of history—that is, of what is properly called history, which is exclusive of intentional deception and misrepresentation—was the uppermost idea in his mind. The internal evidence of his great, varied, and precious work demonstrates this.

There is, however, another reason for our believing this particular piece of information he gives us about the Great Pyramid, which is, that it is in strict accord with what we know of the period to which his statement belongs. Silver was at that time not coined but weighed, and therefore, necessarily, the inscription would speak of such a weight of silver and not of so many coins of a certain denomination. At that time there were not in existence any coins of any denomination. In the history of Joseph we have frequent mention of money without any qualifying terms; but on the one occasion in the narrative, where it becomes necessary to speak precisely on the subject, Joseph's brethren do so by saying that their money was in full weight. Money then, we may suppose, as late as the time of the Pentateuch, was silver that was weighed and not coined. This is in accordance with another statement of Herodotus, that the Lydians, the most mercantile neighbours of the Greeks, were the people who first coined money.

Now that the Egyptians had at this time no coined money, proves that their taxes, as is very much the case at this day with their chief tax—that on land—were paid in kind. In an age when silver was so scarce that the idea of coining it, for the purpose of giving to it easy and general circulation, had not occurred, and it was passing from hand to hand of the few who possessed it by weight, the actual tillers of the soil, always in the East and not less so in Egypt

than elsewhere, a poor and oppressed class, could not have had silver to pay their rents and taxes. The wealth, therefore, of Pharaoh must have consisted mainly of produce.

The next point is, that no profitable investments for what silver or precious things a few might have possessed were known or possible then. It was not only that there were no Government stocks and no shares paying dividends, but that there was nothing at all that could be resorted to for such purposes. If a man had invested money in anything he would have stood out before the world as a rich man, and so as a man to be squeezed. Doubtless there was less of this in Egypt than elsewhere in the East, but in those early and arbitrary days there must have been even in Egypt somewhat of it. People, therefore, would not, as a general rule, have invested had it been possible. But it was utterly impossible, for the double reason that there was nothing to invest in, and that there was nothing to invest with.

What people invest is capital. Capital is bottled-up labour, convertible again, at pleasure, into labour, or the produce of labour. But in those days labour could not be bottled up, except by a very few in the form of silver ingots. In these days every kitchen-maid can bottle up labour in the shape of coin which is barren bottling-up, or invest it in a saving's bank account or in some other way, which is fruitful bottling-up. I ask permission to use these incongruous metaphors, one on the top of the other. Every grown-up person in the kingdom can bottle up labour and invest it; and, as a matter-of-fact, there are few who, at one time or other of their lives, do not. Some do it to such an enormous amount that they might with the

accumulated store build a pyramid greater than that of Cheops. It is, indeed, with the labour that has been bottled up by private individuals that we have constructed all our railways, docks, and gas-works, and with which we carry out all our undertakings, great and small, in this country. There is no limit to our capacity for bottling up labour. It is one of our greatest exports; we send it all over the world, to Russia, to America, to India, and to Egypt itself. It is estimated that we store up nearly 100,000,000 pounds worth every year.

But in the time of Cheops nothing of this kind was done, nor could it have been. It is true that the nation could then produce a great deal more food than it needed for consumption, but, at the end of the year, it was none the richer. Its surplus labour had not been fixed and preserved in a reconvertible form for future needs. Its surplus production had not been thus stored up for future uses. To repeat ourselves there were, speaking generally, no ways open to them for bottling up this surplusage either in the temporarily barren, or in the continuously fruitful fashion. But there were ways open to them by which they might squander or consume their imperfect chances. They might, for instance, throw away their surplus food and capacity for surplus labour by doing no productive work for a portion of the year. They were engaged in this way in the long and numerous festivals of their gods, in their funeral processions, and other matters of this kind. The effect was the same when they made military raids on their neighbours. To this method also of using up their surplus labour and food they had frequent recourse. To these matters they were disposed more than ourselves, because, unlike ourselves, they could not save what

they were thus squandering. Or they might spend much of it in excavating, sculpturing, and painting acres of tombs; or in piling up pyramids; or in building incredible numbers of magnificent temples. This explains the magnitude and costliness of many of the works and undertakings of the old world elsewhere as well as in Egypt. The point which it is essential to see is, that they could not bottle up their surplus labour of any kind in the time of Cheops; while with us every form of surplus labour, even every odd half-hour of every form of it, may be bottled up, and the interest on what has been secured in this way may itself also be secured in like manner. The only approach to this among them was made by the king when he built a treasury, which we know was sometimes done by the Pharaohs, and locked up in it his ingots of silver and what gold, precious stones, and costly stuffs he had acquired.

But this form of bottling up labour, and which only one man in the kingdom could practise, had two objections. It was of the utterly barren sort; it paid no dividends. He had no enjoyment of any kind from it. This was the first objection; and the other was, that if it was continued too long—and this might be the result at any moment—the man who was thus hoarding up his treasures would prove to have been hoarding them up for others and not for himself, and so he would get no particle of advantage from them.

What, then, was he to do? How was what he had to be spent in such a manner as that he might himself get something from it? How was he to have himself the spending of it? A pyramid is utterly unproductive, and all but utterly useless. It is a building that does not give shelter to any living thing,

in which nothing can be stored up, excepting a corpse, and that cannot even be entered. Still it was of as much benefit to the man who built it as leaving the surplus labour, and food he had at his disposal, and the valuables he had in his treasury unused would be. And those who built pyramids had at their absolute command any amount of labour, and any amount of food. Here, then, was a great temptation to raise monuments of this kind to themselves. What treasure they had might as well be sunk in stones as remain bottled up barrenly. They would, at all events, spend it themselves, and get for it an eternal monument. They would have the pleasure of raising themselves their own monuments. They would have the satisfaction of providing a safe and magnificent abode for their own mummies.

If they had had at home Egyptian Three per Cent. Government Consols, or could have bought Chinese, Hindoo, or Assyrian Five per Cent. Stocks; or if the thought had occurred to them, which not long afterwards did occur to their successors, of reclaiming from the Desert, by irrigation, the district of the Faioum; or if they had foreseen that in times to come the Hyksos, and the Persians might invade Egypt, and that possibly a rampart from Pelusium to the metropolis, such as was afterwards constructed, might assist in keeping them in check in the Desert, where there would be a chance of their perishing from thirst; or if Egypt had been, like Ceylon, a country in which mountain streams could be dammed up in the wet season for irrigating the land in the dry; or, like Yucatan, where enormous tanks for the storage of the rainfall are indispensable; then it is evident that the surplus labour and food, and the silver

ingots in the King's treasury would have been spent in some one or other of these ways. But some of these things were not possible in Egypt, and the time for thinking of the others had not yet come. There was, therefore, no alternative. It must be something as unproductive as a pyramid or a temple. The intense selfishness of man, such as he was in those early days, prevented their having any repugnance to the idea of a pyramid: it rather, on the contrary, commended the idea to their minds. And so it came about that the pyramids were built. The whole process is as clear to us as it would be, had we ourselves, in some well-remembered stage of a previous existence, been the builders, and not Cheops, and Chephren. We see the conditions under which they acted, and the mental process by which they were brought to the only conclusion possible to them.

The question may be propounded—Why was there given to these structures that particular form which from them has been called the pyramidal? Mathematics and astronomy have been summoned to answer the question; and lately the Astronomer Royal for Scotland has, in a large and learned work; endeavoured to prove that the Great Pyramid of Gizeh was intended to perpetuate for ever a knowledge of scientifically-ascertained natural standards of weight, measure, and capacity. If this was the purpose of the Great Pyramid, what, then, was the purpose of each one of those scores of other pyramids that were constructed before and after it? No two, probably, of the whole series were precisely of the same dimensions, except, perhaps, accidentally. All suppositions of this kind have their origin in the unhistorical, or rather anti-historical

practice of attributing to early ages the ideas of our own times. The first requirement for enabling one to answer this question rightly is the power of, in some degree, thinking with the thoughts of the men who themselves built the pyramids. Now, of course, there is no more reason for doubting that every pyramid in Egypt was intended for a tomb and sepulchral monument, just for that and for nothing else, than there is for doubting that the Coliseum was built for the spectacles of the amphitheatre and London Bridge for enabling people to cross the Thames.

Why, then, was this particular form given to these tombs and sepulchral monuments? Of course, it was because this was the form which presented itself to the minds of the men of those times as the natural and proper form. But why did a thought which does not appear obvious and appropriate to us, appear to them natural and proper? It was because in the ages that had preceded the times of the pyramid builders, and which had left some of the ideas that had belonged to them still impressed on men's minds, tools for quarrying and squaring stones had been scarce; and it had resulted from this scarcity of tools (sometimes it was an entire absence of them) and from the corresponding embryonic condition of the primitive ideas of art, that the tombs and sepulchral monuments of those ages had consisted merely of a shallow grave covered over with a pile of inartificially heaped-up stones or earth. That was all that the natural desire in the survivors to perpetuate the memory of the dead had found possible. Such was, with the Aryan race, the primæval idea of a tomb and sepulchral monument throughout the whole Aryan world. Cheops and Chephren, and their predecessors for many generations on the throne of Egypt, had

acquired tools, and an unlimited supply of labour; but they had not acquired new ideas about tombs and sepulchral monuments. So when, with the vigour of thought and boldness of conception that belonged to a young world, conscious of its strength, they resolved to construct such tombs and sepulchral monuments as should endure while the world endured, no other form occurred to them excepting that of the simple antique Aryan cairn. They wanted a tomb and a sepulchral monument, and nothing but a cairn could be that. And so they built the cairns of Gizeh.

Solomon's Temple indicated that it had been preceded by a time during which the House of God had been a tent; the marble Parthenon that it had been preceded by a time during which the ancestors of its architects had built with wood.

Suppose that it were discovered that in the language of old Egypt the word for a sepulchral monument meant literally a heap of stones, should we not be justified by the known history of the power words have over thought, in feeling certain that in those early times there could not have been a man in Egypt capable of forming any other conception of a sepulchral monument? We have some little ground for presuming that something of the kind was at work in the minds of the builders of the Pyramids. The force, that is to say, of words, as well as the force of tradition, may have constrained them to adopt the pyramidal form. At all events, we know that the word pyramid means the mountain, perhaps the mound, perhaps really the cairn, the heap of stones.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT PYRAMID LOOKS DOWN ON THE CATARACT OF PHILÆ.

> Now I gain the mountain's brow,
> What a landscape lies below!——DYER.

THERE is some interest in the comparison contained in the following figures. The Great Pyramid was originally 480 feet high. In consequence of the sacrilegious removal of its outer courses by the Caliphs to provide materials for the construction of the Mosque of Hassan, and other buildings at Cairo, its height has been reduced twenty feet, that is to 460 feet. It stands at the northern extremity of the valley of Egypt. The First Cataract is at the other, or southern extremity. These two extreme points of the valley are separated by a distance, following the windings of the river, of 580 miles. Throughout this distance the river falls on an average five inches a mile. This gives an uniformly rapid stream. To ascend this distance in a steamboat, such as are used on the Nile, requires seven days of continuous work; no time having been allowed for stoppages, except of course during the night. I need hardly say that the voyage is never accomplished in so short a time. But supposing a week has been spent in the ascent of the river,

when at the end of it you land at the Cataract, you are at very little more than half the height you had reached when you were standing at the beginning of the week, on the top of the Pyramid. So it would be supposing the Pyramid stood on the level of the river-bank, instead of standing, as it does, on a spur of the limestone ridge that overlooks the valley. To think, when you are entering Nubia, that a building in the neighbourhood of Cairo, so many hundred miles away, is still towering nearly 240 feet above your head, and that it has been there from an antiquity so remote that, in comparison with it, the most ancient monuments of Europe are affairs of yesterday, an antiquity that is separated from our own day by more than 5,000 years, makes one feel that those old Egyptians understood very well what they were about, when they undertook to set for themselves a mark upon the world which should stand as long as the world endured. Judging from what we still see of the casing at the top of the Second Pyramid, we feel certain that, if the destroying hand of man had not stripped off its polished outer casing from the Great Pyramid, the modern traveller would behold it precisely as it was seen fifty centuries ago, when the architect reported to Cheops the completion of the work.

I have been speaking only of the relation of the Great Pyramid to the Cataract of Philæ; it may, however, be noticed, for the sake of enabling the fireside traveller to picture more readily to his mind the entire absence of all hypsometrical features in this unique country, that this pyramid looks down, and always from a relatively greater height, on every part of the cultivated soil of the whole land of Egypt.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WOODEN STATUE IN THE BOULAK MUSEUM.

Vivi vultus.—VIRGIL.

IN the museum of Egyptian antiquities at Boulak, the harbour of Cairo, is a wooden statue of an old Egyptian It was found in a tomb at Sakkara, and belongs to one of the early dynasties of the old primæval monarchy It is absolutely untarnished by the thousands of years it had been reposing in that tomb. There is no stain of time upon it. To say that it is worth its weight in gold is saying nothing. It is beyond price. It is history itself to those who care to interpret such history. The face is neither of the oval nor of the round type, but, as it were of an intermediate form the features and their expression are just such as might be seen in Pall Mall, or in a modern drawing-room, with the difference that there is over them the composed cast of thought of the wisdom of old Egypt As you look at the statue intently—you cannot do otherwise—the soul returns to it. The man is reflected from the wood as he might have been from a mirror.

He is not a genius. His mind is not full of that light which gives insight. He cannot communicate to others unusual powers of seeing and feeling. He cannot send an electric shock through the minds and

hearts of a generation. He is no prophet, no revelator, no natural leader of men. He is an Egyptian of very early days. And this piece of wood tells you not only that, but also exactly what manner of man he was. How he thought, and felt, and lived. It is all there.

He was accustomed to command. He was a man of great culture. His culture had refined him. He was conscious of, and valued his refinement. He was benevolent on conviction and principle. It would have been unrefined to have been otherwise. He was somewhat scornful. He was very accurate in his knowledge, his ideas, and statements. Very precise in his way of thinking, and in all that he did. He shrunk from doing a wrong, or from using an ill-placed word, as he would have from a soiled hand. He was as clean and neat in his thoughts as in his habits. He was as obstinate as all the mules in Spain. Had there been any other party in those days, he would have belonged to the party of order; and, if things had gone so far, he would not have shrunk from standing by his principles; but he would not unnecessarily have paraded them. If he had been called upon to die for his principles, he would have died with dignity, and with no sign of the thoughts within.

His servants respected him. They had never known him do a wrong thing; and they had known him do considerate things. But they did not like him. They could not tell why, but it was because they could not understand him. He was an aristocrat. He cultivated and valued the advantages his position had given him; and was dissatisfied with those whom circumstances had forbidden should ever be like himself. He saw that this feeling was inconsequential, but he saw no escape from it, and this vexed his

preciseness and accuracy; and he combated the disturbing thought with greater benevolence and greater accuracy, and became more precise where preciseness was possible. He was fond of art, of his books, and of his garden. He was not unsocial, but he preferred the wisdom of the ancients to that of the moderns; and, in a sense, nature to man.

Such was this Egyptian of nearly 6,000 years ago. He was the creation of a high civilization. He could have been understood only by men as civilized as himself. That he was understood is plain, from this piece of wood having been endowed with such a soul.

CHAPTER X.

DATE OF BUILDING WITH STONE.

When time is old and hath forgot itself,
And blind oblivion swallowed cities up,
And mighty states characterless are grated
To dusty nothing.——SHAKSPEARE.

MANETHO tells us that in the reign of Sesortosis, a king of the third dynasty, the method of building with hewn stone was introduced. He reigned about 3640 B. C. It will be observed that this date is about thirteen centuries earlier than that assigned to the flood on Archbishop Usher's authority, and which is placed on the margin of our Bibles; and only between three and four centuries subsequent to the date assigned, on the same authority, to the creation of the world. To examine, however, this date of Manetho's for the hewing and dressing of building stone, is now our immediate object. A little investigation of the subject will, I am disposed to think, show that it is inadmissible, and that it must be thrown back to a very much more remote antiquity.

Manetho made this statement in the time of the Ptolemies. We are therefore, under the circumstances, justified in supposing that the author of the date, whether Manetho himself, or some earlier chronographer to whom he was indebted for it, meant by it

little more than an acknowledgment, that he was not acquainted with any stone buildings earlier than the reign of Sesortosis. A question of this kind was then very much what it is now, one of antiquarian research; it being necessary then, as now, to collect the evidence for its decision from the monuments. But if our acquaintance with the monuments of the primæval period is as extensive and profound as Manetho's was, or even more so; and if in addition, we have advanced far beyond what was possible in his day in the direction of universal history, we may be able to show that there is some error in his date; or at all events may be able to explain it in such a way, that it may be brought into closer conformity with what is now known than it would seem to admit of if taken literally.

It is, then evident, that he was unacquainted with any buildings of hewn stone earlier than the time of Sesortosis. No surprise need be felt at this. Sesortosis reigned more than 3,000 years before the time of Manetho. Let us recall what is the effect of 3,000 years upon ordinary stone buildings in a country that has, during that period, been growing and prospering.

Our Saxon forefathers used stone largely in building. One thousand years only have passed: and now there is not a building in the country we can point to and say with certainty that it was raised by their hands. There are a few doubtful exceptions in the form of church towers. But these, if authentic, are exceptions of the kind which prove the rule: for when everything else disappeared, they could have been preserved only by a combination of chances so rare that it did not occur in one out of ten thousand cases. It was much the same after five hundred years had passed.

The Roman world was covered, in the time of

Constantine, with magnificent cities and villas. But how many of the houses that were then inhabited are now standing?

The reasons of this are evident. First there is the ever-acting disintegration of natural causes. Whatever man erects upon the surface of the earth, Nature is ever afterwards busy in reducing to the common level. Then comes fire, the best of servants, but the worst of masters, which no dwelling-house can be expected to escape for a thousand years. Earthquakes and war have, in any long series of years, to be credited with much destructive work. These are all in the end complete undoers of man's handiwork. But I am disposed to assign the greatest amount of obliteration to the ever-changing fashions and wants of man himself. The houses of one generation are not suited to the tastes and requirements of the generations that succeed. They must therefore be pulled down to make way for what men wish to have. Perhaps they become quarries to supply the materials needed for the new buildings. Those who act in this way are only doing what their predecessors did, and what their successors will do. Palaces and the chief public buildings in a city are, from a variety of causes, transferred to new sites; and the cities, of which they must be the centres, must correlate themselves to the sites of the new buildings. Or the capital, or city itself, may, from a variety of causes again, be transferred to an entirely new site. In either case more or less of the old city is no longer inhabited. Sometimes the old materials are wanted, sometimes the ground upon which the deserted buildings are standing is needed for cultivation.

If we sum up the effects of these causes, we cannot

expect that the contemporaries of the Ptolemies should have found in Egypt any buildings dating from the first period of the Old Monarchy, that is nearly four thousand years old. They had before them the pyramids, which were then certainly more than three thousand years old, and which, it is evident, had defied all the destructive causes we have enumerated simply on account of their exceptional form and mass, and because the enormous stones of which they were constructed had been so nicely fitted together as to exclude moisture and air; and so, because they found no earlier buildings, and because the stones of these had been so carefully and truly wrought, they assigned, as the commencement of the practice of building with wrought-stone, the reign of Sesortosis, that is, they carried it back two hundred years beyond the date of the commencement of the Great Pyramid.

This is altogether inadmissible. Men could not pass in two hundred years from the first essays in cutting stone to the grandest stone structure, and, in nicety of workmanship, one of the most perfect instances of stone joinery that has ever been erected. There were great builders long anterior to this date of two hundred years before the commencement of the Great Pyramid. Some of the pyramids themselves, and many of the tombs, are older than the Pyramids of Gizeh, and even than the time of Sesortosis. A pyramid had been built in the Faioum as far back as the first dynasty of all, that of Menes himself. Their system of religion, and their system of writing, were both perfected in the time of Menes, and each of these two facts imply considerable advance in the art of building, of course building with stone, of which there were such ample materials everywhere throughout the valley of Egypt.

They could not have had a perfected religion, such as was theirs, without temples. Nor is it possible that they could have advanced to the art of writing without having advanced previously as far as the art of cutting and dressing stone. And this is more obvious when we consider that the very peculiarity of Egyptian writing grew partly out of the idea that its characters were to be sculptured and incised on stone; and this is what is implied in its very name of hieroglyphics.

I do not imagine that the date we are considering was a mere fiction. To invent history was not an Egyptian custom. What might have been rightfully assigned to the time of Sesortosis might not have been rightly understood, and so came to be wrongly described. They had hewn and built with stone centuries before his time. But there was an architectural improvement which must have commenced somewhere about his reign, which we see perfected in the pyramids, and which the Egyptians ever afterwards retained, and that was the practice of building with enormous blocks of stone, cut and fitted together with the utmost care and precision. We can accept Manetho's statement, when interpreted to mean this.

The Egyptians had already had a long national existence. They were a very observant and thoughtful people. Of all people of whom we know anything, they had the strongest craving to leave behind them grand, and, if possible, everlasting historical monuments. But they observed that all buildings constructed with small stones, sooner or later, but at all events, in a few centuries, passed away without leaving a record. They fell to the ground, or they were taken down to supply materials for new buildings, or the

stone they were built of was burnt for lime. The consumption of lime has always been great in Egypt, and although the limestone mountains are not far from the river, and throughout the greater part of the country close at hand, old buildings have always been made to supply the stone required for this purpose. Mehemet Ali, notwithstanding that the limestone ridges of Thebes were close by, threw down one of the magnificent propylæa of Karnak to get lime for some paltry nitre-works he was setting up in the neighbourhood. To secure, then, as far as possible, their great monuments and tombs against these causes of decay and overthrow, they, at about the time of the date we are discussing, changed their method of building, and began to use such large stones that it would generally be less troublesome and costly to get new stone at the quarries for building and for lime, than to overthrow an enormous structure, which could not be done without some machinery, and much tackle and labour. But their ideas, and the knowledge and the skill shown in these great buildings agree with other considerations in obliging us to carry back the art of building with hewn stone to a very remote epoch, far beyond any contemporary monuments, and far beyond Menes, whose name is the first to appear in the annals of Egypt, and who must have reigned not far from six thousand years ago. At this date, we cannot now entertain any doubts on the subject, civilization in Egypt was in a very advanced state, not very different, indeed, from what we find it at the period when the monuments have become abundant. Upon the earliest of these we see the public and private life of the Egyptians sculptured and painted by their own hands. This, of course, must have required long antecedent

periods of slow advance, for in this matter it is the first, and not the later, steps which require most time.

No inference, in respect of the point before us, can be drawn from the preservation of buildings standing on such sites as those of Pæstum and Palmyra. As soon as those cities began to decay, all temptation to use the stones of old structures in the erection of new ones, or to burn them for lime, completely ceased. They became useless and valueless, and this it was that saved them. During the four thousand years that had elapsed between Menes and Manetho, Egypt had been a populous country, generally in a state of prosperity, and, during the whole of the time, building, which often implies pulling down, had been actively going on; every stone, therefore, in every old building might, in one way or another, have been re-used. No one can suppose that in such a country as ancient Egypt the pressure of this temptation would be long resisted.

The object of these pages is to present to the reader the thoughts on Egypt, as it was and as it is, which arose in the author's mind during a tour he made last winter through the country. Among these thoughts, as I intimated at the beginning of this chapter, a prominent place is occupied by chronological questions, for the dates of early Egyptian history do not accord with those of the popularly-received system. It therefore becomes necessary to revert to the grounds of that system as well as to examine and ascertain the particulars of the chronology of Egypt.

In this indispensable department of primæval history it is possible that we may have been misled by a very natural misapprehension as to the character of the earlier portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. We read

them as if they were addressed to ourselves, and as if their object was historical. These are, both of them, erroneous aud misleading ideas. It is evident, on the face of the documents, that their writers had in view no readers excepting those for whose immediate behoof they were composed, and no objects excepting religion and patriotism. Their aim was to form the Israelites into a people by the instrumentality of a religion. The writings lay a foundation for the religion, give an exposition of it, and set forth the motives for its observance. That is their object. History is no more their object than science. They do, of course, contain a part, and that a most important part, of the history of mankind; for, in carrying out their aim, they give much of the history of a people that was destined to have a great and permanent and ever-growing effect on the world. But it is important to observe that even this they contain only incidentally. To us both their religious aims and their incidental history give them a value which cannot be over-estimated. We shall, however, only fall into mistakes if we lose sight of their primary, limited, Hebrew, religious purpose, and regard them as universal history.

This is a question of broad as well as of minute criticism—of the interpretation of the whole as well as of particulars. Are these Scriptures to be regarded as containing the religion and the history, limited to the point of view of the religion, of one of the smallest of all people; or as containing the whole primæval history of man in such a sense that nothing but what appears to be in harmony with what has come to be their popular interpretation can be taken into consideration? It was for many ages an unavoidable mistake to entertain respecting them the latter assump-

tion. That some of the elements of Hebrew religious thought were subsequently taken up into the religious thought of a very considerable portion of mankind does not affect the question immediately before us. It may be the attempt to maintain the erroneous view of this very question which is now causing so much confusion of thought and ill-feeling. If regarded in their true light, no documents of the old world are more precious to us historically (I am not speaking of them in any other sense now); for, to take the highest instance of all, if the great lesson of history is to teach us that it has itself no meaning, purpose, or value, excepting so far as it is the story of the intellectual and moral growth of the race, and that this is the paramount object of national and of individual life, then how precious and how luminous a portion of history do these documents become!

But this value is very much lessened, and this light obscured, by the determination to find in them, not a part, but the whole of primæval history. The civilization of Egypt, which reaches back into so remote a past that the pyramids were monuments of hoar antiquity when Abraham saw them, and the civilization—perhaps contemporary with the date of the pyramids—which existed on the banks of the Euphrates, the Ganges, and the Yankse Kiang must be made harmoniously to find a place by the side of what is recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures. So must the mythology, and the moral and intellectual aptitudes of the Aryan race of man. So must also the knowledge to which we have attained of the history of our globe itself, and of the succession of life upon it. This process has already been passed through with respect to the discoveries of astronomy. There was a long and fierce

struggle against them. At last everybody admitted both that what astronomers taught might be believed, and that the Hebrew Scriptures did not teach astronomy. There is no reason for confining to astronomy the rule that was established in its favour. It must be extended so as to include our knowledge of the greatness and the remoteness of Egyptian civilization, and of every other kind of knowledge. We need not, and we must not, so interpret the Hebrew Scriptures as to reject on their authority, or even to feel repugnance to accept, any clearly-established facts. To make this use of them is to wrest them to a purpose for which it is clear they were never intended.

Their historical value to ourselves is only an incident, and accident of their designed purpose: that was to teach to the Israelites religion (which has come to be to us a part of history), and not to teach history to us. The idea of history, taking the word in the meaning it has for us, did not exist then. It could not, indeed, have existed then, for everything has its own place and time, and the time for history had not come then. First, the seed is deposited in the ground, then comes the tender shoot, next the stem and blades, after that the plant flowers; last of all comes the full corn in the ripe ear. Those early days were the time when the materials were in many places being collected out of which we have to construct human history. It is fortunate for us that in those first times men did not forestall the idea of history: that would have prevented their attending singly to what they were themselves doing, and to the thoughts that were at work in their own minds.

CHAPTER XI.

GOING TO THE TOP OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.

> How fearful
> And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low :
> The crows and choughs that wing the midway air
> Show scarce so gross as beetles.——SHAKSPEARE.

Of course you listen to anything people have to say on a subject about which you are at the moment interested. Here are some specimens of what I heard about the Pyramids. A gentleman who had that day returned from making the ascent was, as he sat at the *table d'hôte*, overflowing with his impressions. His complexion and voice were somewhat womanly. As might have been expected, he strongly advised that every one should attempt what he had himself just accomplished. There was some novelty in the advantage, he thought, would result from the ascent, and in the logical process by which it was to be attained. "Go up," his words were, "go up by all means. The religious effects are very good. Lifted up to so enormous a height above the earth on so vast and imperishable a structure, you feel deeply and profitably the littleness, the feebleness of man."

I asked the owner of a New York dry-goods store, who was rushing over the world for the purpose

of adding to the stock of his ideas—a very creditable effort in a man of his antecedents and occupation, and who was now half-gray—what he thought of the Pyramids? "Well," was his reply, "they are a matter biggish. But I don't think them much, for we can have just as good pyramids in Central Park, New York, if we choose to spend the money to have them. A pyramid is nothing but dollars. How many dollars do you say one would cost? Well, we have got all these and many more to spare. We have got the pyramids in our pockets, and can set them up any day we please."

An acquaintance, whose vocation is one of the fine arts, and who is well known in his profession, standing unawed, and even unmoved in front of the Great Pyramid, relieved his mind to me, by giving utterance to the following piece of honest profanity :—

"I can't bring myself to take the slightest interest in these pyramids. They don't possess one principle, one element, one feature of architecture. They are nothing at all but heaps of stones."

These are the ideas of people who are eminently estimable, and perfectly contented with themselves and with the world. Indeed, in holding and expressing them, they must think that their eyes are not quite as other men's: that they can penetrate a little further beyond the surface of things. Yet one meets with many a man quite as estimable, though perhaps not quite so contented with himself and with the world, who would be disposed to ask what good would his life do him, if told that he must swop ideas with them. The prospect would be as little attractive to him as that of the exchange of his religion for the creed of an ancient Briton or Cherokee Indian. But

variety is pleasant, and the world is a big place with plenty of room for honest folk of all sorts.

On my first visit to the Pyramids of Gizeh it was too windy for any one but an Arab to think of making the ascent. On my second visit the day was all one could wish, and so four of our party went up to the top of the Great Pyramid. It was my fifty-fourth birthday. This seemed to myself rather a reason for not making the effort. My climbing-days were done. But my young friend, late from Harrow, and great in athletics, thought differently. "You mus'n't give in yet," he urged. "You must go up. It is what every one ought to do. What is the use of having come all this way if you don't go up. You will be sorry afterwards if you don't. One would come a long way to have a chance of doing it." As this was very much like what one used to think oneself some thirty or so years since, the exhortation seemed reasonable and good. We ought to endeavour to keep ourselves young in body as well as in mind. We ought not to give in by anticipation. It will be time enough when we can't help ourselves. And so I went to the top.

By the way a party for travel in Egypt, if pleasure, not work, is the first object, may be a large one, and need not be composed entirely of historians and philosophers. All liberal pursuits and ways of looking at things may be represented advantageously. A naturalist and a geologist are almost indispensable. A member of the Ethnological Society might, at times, turn up worth his salt. A Liverpool or Manchester man, whose ideas are of commerce, manufactures, and machinery; of the value of things, and how to do things, would often usefully recall speculation to the standard of present utility. But by all means have a

young fellow late from Harrow, and all for athletics. He is always to the front, like a cork to the surface of the water. He is never afraid of work, or of roughing it. He is always merry and good-tempered. Always glad to hear what has anything in it; is impatient of twaddle, and can't stand assumption. Some day he will himself be an Egyptologer or geologist, or something of the kind. At present he is tolerant, and allows these things to those who like them. What he likes is a rousing gallop on the Sheik's horse, a girl that has no nonsense in her, a champagne luncheon, a good cigar. Some things, and some chaps he thinks slow, but the general rule is "all right." A Nile party is the better for this ingredient. We mediævalists must not be over-reasonable. He will help us a little to keep this tendency in check. Besides, we were once young ourselves, while our young friend was never an old fogie.

Four of us went to the top together. But *place aux dames*, and no young lady, from the days of Cheops, better deserved the first place than she who, on an early day in January, 1871, ascended his pyramid with eye as bright and foot as sure as a gazelle's. If he still haunts the mighty monument in which he was laid, after having bent his people to its erection for fifty years, he must have thought, as the Lily of the North stood on its summit, that he was well repaid.

> For ne'er did Grecian chisel trace
> A Nymph, a Naiad, or a Grace
> Of finer form, or lovelier face.
> A foot more light, a step more true,
> Ne'er from the heath-flower dashed the dew;
> E'en the light hare-bell raised its head
> Elastic from her airy tread.

My young friend, late from Harrow, and all for athletics, was, of course, one of the four.

And so was an older friend of mine, with whom and another lad, in the year 1836, each of the three being then seventeen years old, I had gone, I believe, the first open-boat cruise on our home rivers. We started from Bedford and went to York and Hull, and back again, 700 miles in an open boat, pulling it all the way ourselves, and lying down in it at night to sleep, accoutred as we were in Jersey frock and canvas. During the whole expedition we cooked our meals ourselves. From that boat we had looked forward into the unknown world before us. Now, from the top of the Pyramid of Cheops, we looked back on our course through it. Well, just like other people, we had had each of us to make some discoveries for himself, and to pay for his experience. But the fight had not been always against either of us. On the whole we had not found it a bad world. We were glad, after thirty years of the chanceful life-battle, to meet again, on the summit of the Great Pyramid, if not quite unscathed, yet not crippled. I suppose we each thought that the time to come could not be as pleasant as the interval had been that separated our two excursions.

The Great Pyramid is built of extremely hard and compact nummulitic limestone. The third was cased to half its height with enormous blocks of granite. A few are still in their places, but most of them have been thrown to the ground. A small portion of the external casing at the top of the Second Pyramid is still uninjured. It looks as if it were made of polished white marble.

I found the best way of getting an impressive idea of the enormous magnitude of these pyramids was to place myself in the centre of one side and to look up.

The eye then travels over all the courses of stone from the very bottom to the apex, which appears literally to pierce the blue vault above. This way of looking at the Great Pyramid—perhaps it is a way which exaggerates to the eye its magnitude unfairly—makes it look Alpine in height, while it produces the strange effect just noticed.

While making the ascent, the Hakem of the Arab tribe which supplies guides and assistance to travellers, took the opportunity of a pause for breath, to press upon me the purchase of some old coins. I told him I would look at them when we had done with the Pyramid. "I am satisfied," he replied; "an Englishman's word is as good as his money."

Many people shrink from ascending the Pyramid from a fear of becoming dizzy and confused on seeing, as they fancy they must, that they are up so high without anything to hold on by. This sight need never be seen. You are going up against the face of the mountain; attend then to what you are doing. Look where you are putting your feet, which you must do, each step being three feet high, more or less; and you will never see once, from the bottom to the top, how high you are above the earth, or that you have no supports, except when you turn round on sitting down to get breath and when you reach the summit. The same is true to a great extent even of the descent, although your back is then turned to the mountain. Attend to what you are about—that is, to the place where you are going to set your foot—and there will be nothing at all to make you dizzy.

One of the exhibitions of the place is that of an Arab climbing from the bottom to the top and coming down again, in what appears to the spectators, an

incredibly short space of time. The charge for the performance is a few francs. As they are slim, long-legged, active fellows, they are well-adapted for this kind of thing. One who was proud of what he could do in this way was challenged by my young friend to a foot-race for half-a-crown. There was not an Arab present but thought it would be a hollow thing. It was not a hollow thing at all. But their man it was who came in second, Harrow winning by a few yards.

CHAPTER XII.

LUNCHEON AT THE PYRAMIDS—KÊF.

> Mine eye hath caught new pleasures
> Whilst the landscape round it measures.——MILTON.

ON our first visit to the Pyramids we had our luncheon in the large granite tomb a little below, and to the south-east of the Sphinx. One feels that there is an incongruity, a kind almost of profanation, in using a tomb, particularly such a tomb, for such a purpose. Its massiveness, at all events, makes you conscious of a kind of degeneracy in the present day. A sense of unworthiness and littleness comes over you. What business have we, who send our dead to heaven and have done with them, to disturb the repose of those on whose sepulchres a fortune was spent, if not by their relatives, at all events by themselves? But on this occasion there was little choice. Outside the sun was scorching and the wind was high, and the only alternative was the hotel. But that was impossible: to be shut up in a hideous, plastered, naked room of yesterday, within a few yards of the Great Pyramid. One would rather go without one's luncheon for six months together than have to bear the stings of conscience for having so outraged the memory of Cheops and Chephren. And so we took

our luncheon that day in the tomb of one of the great officers of the court of those old times.

It was formed entirely of enormous blocks and monolithic piers of polished granite. I do not know of how many chambers it consisted, for being considerably below the level of the surrounding sand-drift, and the roof having been entirely removed, a few hours' wind must always completely fill and obliterate it. The Arabs then have to clear it out again. When we were there four chambers were open. These are all long narrow apartments. The one by which we entered runs from west to east. At right angles to this are two other apartments, their axes being from north to south. The fourth we saw was at right angles to the north end of these two parallel chambers. It was in the southern extremity of the westernmost of the two parallel chambers that our party took their places. The comestibles were laid on a cloth spread on the sand; the party reclined on the sand around, or sat on blocks of granite arranged for seats. The hungry Arabs perched themselves on the brink of the tomb, waiting for the fragments of the feast, like vultures. The pert popping of the champagne corks again disturbed one's sense of the fitness of things.

How was it possible to be there and not feel the *genius loci?* The whole of this edge of the desert, from Gizeh to the Faioum, is one vast necropolis. The old primæval monarchy lies buried here; Gizeh, Sakkara, Dashour, Abusseir, and all between and beyond, to the Faioum. No other empire has been so buried.

In this wide field of the dead how much of early thought, and feeling, and life is storied. How much contemporary history in wood and stone, in

earthenware, and glass, and paint. Contemporary history — not history composed, heaven save the mark! centuries after the events, often by authors (sometimes truly the authors of all they tell) who did not understand their own time, often merely for bread and cheese; not composed twentieth-hand from writings which, even at their original source and fountain-head, were the work of men who were not agents in what they endeavoured to record, and who, not knowing truly the events, their causes, or their consequences, were but ill qualified to write the record; not composed when the feelings and ways of thinking of the time had died out and other thoughts and feelings come in their place, and when what the writer had to construct had become obscured by party prejudice in politics and religion, and by social misunderstandings, but when the feelings and ways of thinking of the day were living things. Nothing of this kind is here. What is here is contemporary history, presented in such a form that it is the actual pressure and embodiment of the heart and mind of each individual. Here are the occupations he delighted in, the sentiments that stirred him, the business that was the business of his life, the clothes he wore, the furniture he used, the forms religious thought had assumed in his mind, the forms social arrangements had assumed around him. No people have ever so written their history. Here is a biography of each man as he knew himself. Here every man is a Boswell to himself. It is a nation's life individually photographed in granite.

We sat after luncheon taking our *kêf*, apparently absorbed in the contemplation of the little fantastic wreaths of cloud formed by our cigars. But the few remarks that were made showed that the thoughts of

most of us were occupied in resuscitating the past, and repeopling the sacred terrain around with the grand impressive ceremonies and funeral processions of five thousand years back. What a scene must this have been then. The mountains—for that is the meaning of the pyramids—not rugged and dilapidated as now, but cased with polished stone, each with its temple in front of it. The many smaller pyramids that have now disappeared, or are only seen as mounds of rubbish, then acting as foils to their giant brethren. Great pyramids reaching all along the foot of the hills as far as the eye could see towards the south; some of these still figure in the landscape. The Sphinx was standing clear of sand with a temple between his paws. Everything was orderly, bright, and splendid. The dark red granite portals of the thousand houses of those that slept in the city of the dead were standing out conspicuous upon the sober limestone area, unchequered by a plant, unstained by a lichen. The black basalt causeways traversed the green plain from the silver river to the pyramid plateau. The whole scene was alive with those who were visiting and honouring the dead, and preparing their own last earthly resting-places. Above all was spread out the azure field of the Egyptian sky.

The word *kêf* is used everywhere throughout the East, from Constantinople to Cairo, to convey an idea that is not European. It is the idea of sensational comfort combined with mental repose, produced by the narcotic leaf, when used under circumstances where the comfort and the repose are felt. There is no *kêf* in its use as you walk or drive, or even talk with the usual effort and purpose. You must be seated, and in

a kiosk or garden, or some pleasant place where the *entourage* feeds the fancy through the eye spontaneously with delightful and soothing images. You must not be urging the mind to exert itself. Conscious mental exertion, equally with bodily, is destructive of *kêf*. The thoughts must be pleasant, and they must come, too, of themselves from surrounding objects. Bodily sensations must be so lulled, and yet, at the same time, so stimulated as to be in perfect accord with the stream of thought that is languidly and dreamily floating through the mind.

CHAPTER XIII.

ABYDOS.

Series longissima rerum
Per tot ducta viros antiquæ ab origine gentis.——VIRGIL.

IN descending the river we stopped at Bellianeh to visit Abydos. It was from This, the primæval Abydos, that Menes came, whose name stands first on the list of Egyptian kings. From it also came the dynasty that succeeded that of Menes. The great extent of cultivable land—the valley here opening out to double its usual width—gave space enough for a rich and populous state, the rulers of which appeared to have overpowered their neighbours, and, by consolidating their conquests, to have formed an enduring monarchy. As the great preponderance of population and wealth was thenceforth in the Delta and Lower Egypt, the head of the Delta became the centre of gravity, and so, by natural causes, the centre of affairs, and the site of the capital.

Was This, in Upper Egypt, the first seat of Egyptian power, and if so, how came it to be so? These are questions of much interest, the important bearing of which on early Egyptian history has been indicated already.

The landing-place at Bellianeh is overshadowed by

a grove of palms, the crowns of which are tenanted by turtle-doves. Among the palms we saw that the ground was covered with crude bricks, lately moulded, and going through their first stage of desiccation. We were soon surrounded by a crowd of bare-legged idlers from the town, most of whom were boys.

We had the day before despatched a telegram to the Governor of Bellianeh to request him to have donkeys in readiness for our party. The telegram, however, had not arrived; we, therefore, sent into the town to collect the beasts our party would require. Before long they came; but most of them were ill able to carry even their own wasted weight. Few had bridles, or anything that could have been mistaken for a saddle: a piece of ragged cloth or matting, merely intended to hide their distressing sores, was all that was on most of them. The first I mounted sank to the ground under the weight of ten stone ten. At last, the three most impatient of our party selected the three least emaciated, and started for Abydos. Later in the day our telegram arrived, and the Governor immediately sent down to the landing a dozen fairly-conditioned animals; but it was then too late in the day for the rest of the party to undertake so long a ride.

It was the 3rd of January. The wheat was about two feet high, and the beans were in flower. The word field would mislead. As we rode on, mile after mile, there appeared to be no divisions of the land, except the limits of the different kinds of grain growing upon it. We crossed two or three large canals by earthen bars, which had been thrown across them. The use of these bars is, as soon as the river begins to sink, to retain the water with which the

canals are then full. We also passed several villages. At the first of these our dragoman engaged the services of a stout young fellow, who came to accompany us, provided with a heavy staff, about two inches or a little more in diameter, and five feet in length. The villagers about Abydos have a bad character, and are occasionally troublesome, and this young fellow was to be our escort. We did not ride through any of the villages on our way, for the road was always made to skirt the outside of the walls. At the gate of one we passed, we saw a woman and a lad seated on the ground, playing at a game resembling drafts. The board was marked out on the road, which had also supplied the men, in the form of pieces of camel dirt. The sight gave one a little shock. These poor women, however, spend no small portion of their lives in converting the raw material of this natural product into manufactured fuel, and the whole of their lives in the odour of its smoke.

In the open by the roadside we saw some enclosures of reed, about six yards square. In each of these a family was residing. I supposed they were engaged in watching the crops. As these enclosures consist of nothing but four thin screens, about seven feet high, of wattled reeds, their inmates, if that is an appropriate term, must sleep, wrapped in their burnouses, beneath the stars. The reed fence can only be intended to keep out the wind, the jackals, and the eyes of curious passers-by; but Arabs do not mind exposure at night as long as their heads are wrapped up. I saw, at Assouan and Minieh, several sleeping in this way, in the open market-place, on their goods. At Suez, being out at dawn, I saw in the Arab town the men sleeping outside their huts on a morning

when the mercury had sunk to freezing point. With us Europeans, the first thought is to keep the feet warm. About this extremity of his personal domain the Arab is heedless. His care, like the nigger's, is for his head—just as the Esquimaux dog, when sleeping, covers his nostrils with his bushy tail, or the pig buries his snout in the straw, so does the Arab, when he makes himself up for the night, envelop his whole head in some thick wrapper. I suppose they are none the worse for breathing and re-breathing the same air all night, with the exception of the little that may filter through the wrapper.

The rubbish mounds of Abydos are, by their height, and the extent of ground they cover, infallible witnesses to the importance of the old primæval city. From among these mounds two grand structures of the days of Sethos and Rameses have been disinterred. One is a palace, the joint work of father and son. That the genius of Egypt was, as might have been expected at this culminating era of its glory, advancing, and full of invention, is seen in the ceilings of the halls of this palace: they are vaulted. These vaulted roofs, however, are not arches of construction, but formed by placing the enormous slabs of sandstone, of which the roof is made, not with their broad, but with their narrow, faces on the plain of the ceiling. This gave a roof of vast thickness, from which the vault of the roof was excavated. The colouring of these roofs, as of all the decorations of these two grand buildings at Abydos, is remarkably good and well preserved.

The other building, which was dedicated to Osiris, who was supposed to have been buried here, was once his most sacred and frequented temple. It was much

enlarged and embellished by the great Rameses. The inner walls of the sanctuary were encrusted with alabaster, which still remains. I saw nowhere else Egyptian work in purer taste, nor sculptures so well preserved, both in form and colour. One might have supposed that some of them had been chiselled and coloured last week. I observed a figure of the great king so absolutely untouched by time, that the colour of every bead in his necklace or collar is quite fresh.

It was here that was found the celebrated tablet of Abydos, which Rameses put up in the temple of Osiris, inscribed with the names of all the kings who had preceded him. This and its fellow tablet, placed at Karnak by Tuthmosis III., about two hundred years before the time of Rameses, are invaluable, as they show that the records preserved by the priests in writing, of which we have transcripts in the dynasties of the priest Manetho and in the Turin papyrus, are in accord with the monuments. The monumental evidence, it may be observed, is of two kinds. Speaking generally, it is absolutely contemporary—the record having been sculptured in the lifetime of the man whose actions, possessions, and thoughts it preserved. There are, however, in these two tablets of Karnak and Abydos, most precious exceptions to the contemporaneousness of the monumental history. How strong and clear was the historical sentiment in the minds of these old Egyptians. We not only find each generation endeavouring to perpetuate a knowledge of its own day, but, in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries before the Christian era, we find Egyptian kings endeavouring to transmit to posterity the names and the order of their predecessors. This tablet of Abydos is one of the glories of our National Museum.

The cemeteries of Abydos were very extensive. Their extent grew out of the wish, very generally felt among well-to-do and educated Egyptians, to be laid themselves where Osiris, the judge of all, had once been laid.

As I have intimated, the site of This may, perhaps, cast some faint ray of light on the question of how and where the first ancestors of the Egyptians had entered Egypt. It throws, however, a flood of light on the question of the antiquity of Egyptian civilization. We have seen that in Egypt, in consequence of the absence or scantiness of rain, there are no springs, and that another consequence of this want of rain is that the nitre, which the soil collects from the air, is not dissolved and washed away, but accumulates to such a degree as to render the water of the wells, which has percolated from the river through the soil, brackish, and unfit for drinking. Now the distance of This, in a direct line from the river, is seven miles and a half; if, then, we put these points together, we shall see in them another argument for the extreme antiquity of Egyptian civilization, besides those drawn from the use of writing, the mythology, and from the absence of anything like a beginning in the history of the useful arts, and of their social arrangements. The combined force of these arguments amount to a demonstration that civilization was not in its infancy six thousand years ago, at the era of the Thinite dynasties.

Here is the form of this contributory to the demonstration. An uncivilized people would undoubtedly have placed their town on the banks of the river, close to the water. But a people among whom labour is organized, and who will be willing because they are

civilized, to go to a great deal of trouble and expense for an adequate object, instead of giving up much good land for a large city, and on a site, too, where it would be troubled by inundations, would prefer to build it at a distance from the river, where the land was not suitable for cultivation, and where it would be safe from inundations. But in order to do this they must cut a canal seven and a half miles long at the least, and so bring the water of the river to the city. These thoughts the Egyptians had, and this work they accomplished in the ages which preceded Menes. No savage, or semi-savage people would have entertained this scheme of the canal, or would have carried it out. The site of This is thus alone strong evidence of a very advanced contemporary civilization, no one can tell how many centuries before the time of Menes; but at least for a sufficient tract of time to allow of the growth of a powerful state, capable at last in his time of imposing a dynasty on Egypt. The first cities in Egypt must have been on the banks of the river; or in places where the *háger* was near the bank. The first comers did not cut canals seven and a half miles long at least; and none but a people already powerful could protect such a canal, upon which their existence depended. The people, then, were already civilized and powerful who placed their city on such a site as that of This.

There were kings in Egypt, we may be sure, before Menes. The Egyptians themselves spoke of his predecessors as "the deceased," that is, those human rulers whose names had been lost. It was in the time of these prehistoric, we may even say premythical kings, that this This Canal, and indeed that the great Bahr Jusuf Canal itself, which is throughout Egypt a

second Nile, were constructed. There were, therefore, at that day, men who were as great in hydraulic engineering as any who came after them, but who yet lived at so remote a time that no trace of them could be found even in the far-reaching and tenacious traditions of Egypt. If the Bahr Jusuf, which passed by This, was older than the city, so much the better for our argument.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FAIOUM.

Opera basilica.——BACON.

THE history of the Arsinoite nome, or department, now the Faioum, would, if it could be completely recovered, throw much precious light on the antiquity and power of the civilization of the primæval monarchy. But the simple fact that all its details had been lost, even in the remote days of Theban learning and magnificence, when Egypt was at the summit of its greatness and glory, possesses of itself much historical value, for it shows at how much earlier a day the district had been reclaimed; and that, too, as we know, by such a system of hydraulic works, and adorned with such cities and buildings as leave no doubt about the high character of its (were it not for these works and structures) prehistoric civilization.

The Faioum is, geographically, a basin formed by a depression in the Libyan range, about sixty miles to the south of the Pyramids of Gizeh. The basin is about the size of Oxfordshire, or Surrey, that is to say, it contains about 750 square miles. More than 100 of these may be occupied by the Birket el Keiroon, a natural lake, which forms its northern and western boundary. This large piece of water resembles a rude

crescent, with its convex side to the north and north-west, and its concave side to the south and south-east. On the former side the desert rises, at no great distance, into a hilly ridge; this boundary being in fact an offset of the African range. The other side of the lake looks upon the dry and shelving descent of the basin, which, from its southern summit down to the edge of the water, has a fall of about 100 feet, being about fifteen miles across. There are considerable discrepancies as to the precise amount of this fall; some measurements making it more, and some less than the 100 feet here given.

When things were in their natural state, undisturbed by man, the Birket el Keiroon was a lake, as it is now. In those days, as in our own, it was supplied with water, just as the pool within the enclosure of Karnak, and other pools, and all the wells in Egypt, by natural infiltration; for the water of the river percolates readily through the porous strata, and flows into any sufficiently deep depressions or excavations. The existence of the oases also in the desert must be accounted for in this way.

The Bahr Jusuf Canal had, at some unrecorded date, been brought along the foot of the Libyan range. Starting from Diospolis Parva, by the air-line forty miles below Thebes, it had traversed the whole of the rest of the valley; then, passing through the Delta, it had reached the sea, somewhere in the neighbourhood of modern Alexandria; a distance, again, in the air-line of 400 miles; though, of course, this falls very far short of giving the measure of its ceaseless sinuosities. This Grand Canal of old Egypt now carries off about a twenty-eighth part of the water that passes over the cataract of Philæ. In its course it flows along the

depressed range that forms the eastern boundary of the Faioum. In this depressed range there is a ravine through which in early days, at the season of the inundation, some of the overflow of the Bahr Jusuf found its way to the top level of the Faioum. It is not easy now, to decide whether it got through naturally at first, or whether the ravine was canalized to enable it to pass through. At all events it is evident that, if there had originally been a natural passage, it was levelled and enlarged by man availing himself of natural fissures and depressions. But however this might have been, the inundation having found its way on to the upper level of the Faioum, appears to have formed there an immense morass.

The first condition, then, of the district had been a dry desert, precisely resembling any other part of the desert, except that it slanted from what may be spoken of as the rim of its mussel-shell-like depression down to the spring-fed Birket el Keiroon. Its second condition, that now before us, is what was brought about by the water of the inundation, that had in some way or other been let into the district: it formed wherever it was retained, and to the greatest extent on the upper plateau, a vast extent of morasses. We have the evidence of geology for the former—for we see that the original surface of the district consisted of thin layers of limestone, alternating with layers of clay—and of tradition for the latter.

We now come to the historical stage. By a series of enormous dykes, some of them several miles in length, the enclosed space having a breadth also of some miles, the inflowing water was confined to certain portions of the upper plateau; perhaps the whole of the upper plateau was thus formed into a lake. The

water thus retained and secured, was amply sufficient for the perennial irrigation of the whole of the descent reaching from the upper southern plateau down to the Birket el Keiroon, and for a district to the west and south, and, when the effects of the inundation began to be exhausted in the valley of Egypt, for the contiguous departments of Memphis and Heracleopolis. In this way the creation of the Faioum, the most fertile province in Egypt, was far from being the whole of the benefit derived from these vast water-works.

The lake, or series of connected lakes, formed on the summit of the plateau may have been twenty miles long and two or three wide. This was the famous Lake Mœris. The water was made to enter the lake by a channel, which probably commenced at the modern Howara, and was drawn off for irrigation outside the Faioum by a channel which appears to have passed out at Illahoun. In each of these a sluice was constructed. The extreme costliness of opening and shutting these sluices shows that they must have been enormous structures: but this was only in proportion to the vast volume of water that passed through them. To fill such lakes during the time of the high water of the inundation nothing less than a considerable river would have sufficed. We can only think it very much to the credit of these primæval engineers that they managed such sluices at all. Nothing like either the slatts or the locks on some of our rivers for holding back the water would have answered their purpose. They wisely made the channel for letting out the water quite distinct from that for letting it in; for, if one of the sluices got out of order, then the other might be used while the damages of the injured one were being repaired. In a matter of life and death to

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so many it would not have done at all to have had only one string to their bow.

But to revert to the gains of these vast hydraulic constructions. An entirely new department had been added to Egypt. It was called the Arsinoite, or Crocodilopolite nome, from Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis, its capital; and turned out, from its more thorough exposure to air than was possible in the valley of Egypt, the richest and most productive part of the kingdom. Its produce was better and more varied. For the six low-water months also during which its stored-up treasure flowed back into the valley, it irrigated the contiguous riverside departments. Some of the canals of India may have done as much, but no work of man was ever grander in its conception, more completely successful in all it aimed at achieving, or of greater and more undoubted utility. It must have brought into being and kept in existence not far short of 500,000 souls in the department it created and in those whose productiveness it increased; for we are speaking of land which, we must remember, was not cultivated as our farms or even as our gardens are, and which produced never less than two crops a year; and which not inundated, as the land in the valley, but irrigated and warped regularly and at will all the year round, yielded three crops annually. Every square foot of ground in the Faioum, all the conditions of warmth, fertility, and moisture being always present, was kept working at the highest power through every hour of the twelve months.

In Lake Mœris the crocodile abounded, having come in with the water. It thus became to the inhabitants of the nome the symbol of the life-giving water; and, having become to their minds the representative

of that upon which everything depended, as had been the case with other symbols, it was held sacred, and eventually worshipped. Just so in the lower departments outside, where they had once had too much water, and which had not become inhabitable till the water had been drained and dyked off and regulated, not the crocodile, but the ichneumon, the enemy of the crocodile, had, by an analogous process, become an object of worship. They had suffered from water, and could only with difficulty keep it from overwhelming their lowlands; and so they made a symbol, for the idea of regulating water that encroached and was destructive, of that which was supposed to destroy what their neighbours had made a symbol of water itself. Here was a symbol upon a symbol. But these were people who thought in hieroglyphics; and to get to an understanding of what they meant we must translate their hieroglyphical modes of thought and expression into our own direct modes.

This lake so abounded in fish—more than twenty species were found in it—that the daily take during the six months the water was flowing out was sold for a talent of silver, about two hundred pounds of our money. During the time the water was flowing in the average of the amounts of the daily sales was the third of a talent. The king gave these proceeds of the lake fisheries to the queen for pin-money. The quantity of fish taken was so great that there was at times a difficulty in pickling and drying it.

Herodotus describes Lake Mœris as 450 miles in circumference. These figures are probably not those of an ignorant copyist, but what the historian himself set down in his original manuscript, for he gives the measurement in schœni as well as in stadia. The

statement, of course, is an impossibility, for the true Lake Mœris could not have been more than twenty miles in length or more than four in width. No one can suppose that Herodotus is here drawing a long bow to astonish his countrymen with a traveller's tale. If he had been at all capable of doing anything of this kind, he never could have written a book of such value as all competent judges have ever assigned to his great work; and whatever he might have written would soon have fallen into deserved contempt. It has occurred to me that we may explain his figures by supposing that he meant them to give the circumference of the whole water-system of the Faioum. On the southern ridge of the mussel-shell he saw the great Lake Mœris; along its northern side he saw what we distinguish by the name of Birket el Keiroon; he saw the eastern extremities of the two connected by a broad canal, and in like manner their western extremities; and throughout the intervening descent he found a complete network of irrigating canals. As he makes no separate mention of the Birket el Keiroon, the probability is that he considered it to be a part of Lake Mœris. Regarding, then, the two lakes as part of the same plan, and as equally the work of man, and finding them so intimately connected with canals, he looked upon the whole as one lake enclosing the cultivated Faioum, and so he speaks of the whole under a single name, and gives a measurement of the circumference of the whole as that of Lake Mœris. What he says of the difficulty he had in understanding what had become of the earth raised in excavating the lake would apply to Birket el Keiroon, supposing it to have been artificially formed, but is quite inapplicable to the true Lake Mœris, for that had not been formed by

excavation, but by dykes: it was a great dam, or series of dams, and the earth required for the construction of the dykes was all the earth that had been moved. The difficulty, therefore, here must have been just the very opposite to that which occurred to Herodotus, because, before the water of the inundation had deposited any or much mud in the district, the problem the engineer had to solve was, where he was to get sufficient earth from to make the dykes.

Some travellers have spoken of the broad belt of shingly gravel on the south side of Birket el Keiroon, as a phenomenon that needs explanation. They ask —Where is the fertile soil that ought to be there? The answer, I suppose, is—That it may be found precisely where it ought to be, that is, at the bottom of the Birket el Keiroon. At times a great deal of water has passed through the canals, as formerly from Lake Mœris itself into the Birket el Keiroon. This must have been very great on the occasion of such a mishap as a break in the dykes, which doubtless occurred at times, especially when things were going out of order. The beach, therefore, of the Birket el Keiroon has been very variable, having often been very considerably advanced. To whatever point the water rose, so far the wash of the waves, breaking on the beach, would float off the light particles of soil, and transport them to the quiet bottom of deep water. What there would be a difficulty in explaining would be, not the absence of, but the finding of Nile mud-soil in this belt that margins the Birket el Keiroon.

In the old bed of the now dry Lake Mœris we find deposits of Nile-mud sixty feet thick. Again, this is what might have been expected. The water of the inundation flowed into the lake heavily charged with

mud. The lake was still water. The sediment, therefore, was speedily deposited at the bottom. This process was repeated every year. Say that a film of the fortieth of an inch was deposited each year from Amenemha to Strabo, the whole of the sixty feet will be accounted for.

This will also account for something more, that is, for the disuse and obliteration of the lake. The mud had at last taken the place of the water. The dykes had not been made sixty feet high at first, but, as the soil rose both within and on the outside, they had, in the course of two thousand years, been frequently raised correspondingly. Of course, the bed of the Nile, like that of the Po, gradually rises, but the amount of this rise is not great, and would bear but a small proportion to the rise of the bottom of the lake. Lake Mœris, therefore, contained in itself, as so many natural lakes have done, a suicidal element. What made it a lake was destined to make it one day, what it has long been, dry land. This was, from the first, only a question of time. Water could, of course, again at this day be dammed up upon the site of the old lake, but only by taking it from the river at a higher point than of old; higher, that is to say, than the inlet of the Bahr Jusuf Canal at Apollinopolis Parva; for instance, it might be necessary to take it now from above the Cataract of Philæ, though, indeed, if that could be engineered, we cannot suppose that it would pay, for the Faioum, including the bed of the old lake, is pretty well irrigated now, though, of course, it has no storage of water for the needs of the adjacent riverside lands.

It is obvious that we must connect with these vast and scientifically-carried-out hydraulic works of the Faioum, the registration of the height of the annual

inundation Herodotus mentions, and of which we have still existing evidence in the rock-cut records at Semnéh, we referred to in our first chapter. He says this registration was commenced in the time of Mœris. Now Mœris was that Amenemha III., who constructed these great reservoirs of the Faioum, and after whom they were ever afterwards called. The connexion between the yearly marking of the height of the rising at Semnéh, in Nubia, and the reservoirs of the Faioum might have been that the register at Semnéh was a detective apparatus for showing how much water ought each year to have been brought into the reservoirs; it would also indicate what was the need for irrigation in the contiguous departments outside the Faioum.

In the waterworks of the Faioum there was a grand utility with which our thought is more than satisfied; in the Labyrinth was seen the architectural glory of the newly-created province; it was the greatest construction of the old monarchy; the pyramids had been a rude introduction to it, and it suggested to the younger monarchy the chief structures of Karnak. If we could now behold it, as it stood at the time when the Hyksos broke into Egypt to become its masters for between four and five centuries, we should regard it as one of the most historically interesting and instructive buildings ever erected in the world.

Its primary conception had been that of a place of assembly for the Parliaments of old Egypt. At that time one court, to which were attached 250 chambers, half being above, and half below ground, appears to have been assigned to each of the twenty-seven departments of the kingdom. Each of these chambers was roofed with a single stone slab. No material but stone had been used throughout the structure. Its pillars

were monoliths of red granite, and of a limestone so white as to have been mistaken for Parian marble, and of so compact a texture as to receive a good polish. The sculptures of the courts and chambers were singularly bold and good. Those of each court and its connected chambers had reference to the history, the peculiarities, and the religion of the department to which it had been assigned. Besides the chambers were numerous halls, porticoes, and passages. The area of the roof, composed of the enormous slabs just mentioned, may have formed the actual place of assembly for the collected deputies of the departments. On the north side stood the pyramid in which was buried Amenemha III., who, if he had not originally designed the Labyrinth, had, at all events, been its chief constructor, for his scutcheon is frequently found in the existing remains. This pyramid was cased with the white limestone used in the Labyrinth itself. The dimensions of the figures sculptured upon it were unusually large. This form having been incorporated into the general design, for it was placed in front of the north, which was the open side, must have gone some way towards breaking the monotony of the horizontal and perpendicular lines of the labyrinth itself.

Herodotus saw it after its partial restoration by the Dodecarchs. They had restored twelve of its courts, one for each of themselves. Those were days of decadence, when what would contribute to the greatness, not of the kingdom, but of the individual ruler, was the governing idea in royal minds. It had first fallen into decay, because into disuse, during the long period of Hyksos occupation; and on the rise of the new monarchy the place of assembly had been removed to Thebes, where Sethos had constructed his grand

hypostyle hall for that very purpose. It had, therefore, at the time when the twelve kings took it in hand, been disused and dilapidated for a period of between fifteen and twenty centuries, probably for as long a time as has elapsed from the days of Augustus to our own day. In that long period we can imagine to what an extent it had been resorted to as a quarry for limestone and building materials. This will account for the restorations of the twelve kings having been so considerable that Herodotus speaks of them as having been the builders of the structure he saw.

Above two thousand years more have since elapsed, the whole of which have been years of neglect and wilful dilapidation; and sad, indeed, is now the state of the grand building, once the grandest in all the world, upon which men had bestowed so much labour and thought, and of which those to whom it belonged had been so proud. An Arab canal has been carried through the centre of it. What remains is buried in the rubbish-heaps formed by its own overthrow and destruction. Still, there must be much within and beneath those heaps that might be disinterred. The whole ought to be carefully and critically examined. It is evident that these remains from their extent and their connexion with the old monarchy, of which the original structure was the chief and most historical monument, are the most promising of all fields for Egyptological investigation.

CHAPTER XV.

HELIOPOLIS.

A sense of our connection with the past vastly enlarges our sympathies, and supplies additional worlds for their exercise.——*Edinburgh Review.*

In going to Heliopolis I turned out of the way a few steps to look at the old sycamore so many pilgrims visit in the belief that Joseph and Mary, and the young Child, during their flight into Egypt, rested in its shade. There is no intimation that the Holy Family went beyond Pelusium, or Bubastis. To have gone so far would satisfy the requirements of the sacred narrative. As they were poor, probably they did not go far into the land, except that it might have been in the exercise of Joseph's trade; but I cannot imagine any one in Egypt, except a Jew, employing a Jewish carpenter. Of course, there would be some Jews who would be desirous, when in Egypt, of visiting Heliopolis, the On of Genesis, which was so interestingly connected with Jewish history; and, therefore, it is just possible the Holy Family may have gone so far.

But as to this tree. If one of its kind could possibly have lived so long in Egypt, which is highly improbable, even under all the circumstances most favourable for the supply of water and protection

from the wind, it would have required an oft-repeated miracle to have saved it from the axe during the many long periods of disorder Egypt has passed through since Joseph's time. The wood of a large tree is, in Egypt, too tempting at such times to be long spared.

I do not know the date of the first mention of this tree, but I think two hundred and fifty years would amply satisfy all the appearance of age it presents. Pococke, from whom I may observe in passing, that a great deal of the information, and many of the learned references contained in several modern works on Egypt, have been borrowed without acknowledgment, and in some cases taken verbatim, tells us that at the date of his visit, which was in 1737, a tree, I conclude the one still standing, was shown by the Copts as the one that afforded shelter to the Holy Family; but that the Latins denied its genuineness, affirming that they had cut down the true tree, that is to say, the one that had previously done duty in supplying a visible object for the legend, and had carried it to Jerusalem. This was probably false. Supposing it, however, to be true, it was a discreditable act such as you might have expected from such monks.

But we have arrived at the tree. It at once appears that the feelings of some of the party are too deep for utterance. On these occasions knowledge and reason have to fight against something or other a battle that is lost often before it is begun. Belief is so much more natural and pleasant than iconoclasm. If you would but let yourself alone—of course you say nothing that would disillusion other people—their devout and heart-contenting imaginations would be reflected in yourself. As it is, you cannot help

feeling the contagion. The upshot of the matter is, you are not altogether satisfied with your own unbelief, nor at all benefited by your half disposition to participate in the belief of your friends. As to the believer, his emotions are every way pleasant and satisfactory to himself.

But what took me to On was not to see the tree, but that I might stand before the Obelisk of Osirtasen, the oldest obelisk in Egypt, which has been pointing to the sky now for more than four thousand years—from the days of the old monarchy, previous to the invasion of the Hyksos. We may feel thankful to them for having allowed it to stand. But there was no International in those days. It had been erected for some centuries, when Abraham came down into Egypt. Joseph and Moses, who had both been admitted to the Priest Caste, and were learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, stood before it and read the inscription, word for word, as the erudite Egyptologer reads it this day. Thales, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato all studied here. Heliopolis was then the most celebrated university in the world for philosophy and science. Strabo was shown the house in which Plato had resided. Herodotus found the priests here in better repute for their learning than any elsewhere in Egypt. All these, and a host of other well-known Greeks, Romans, and Jews resided here, and studied here, during the many centuries of its renown. They all visited again and again, and walked round, and deciphered, or had deciphered to them, the inscription on each side of this spit of granite. In those days it seemed to them a wonderful monument of hoar antiquity—far beyond anything that could be seen in their own countries. Everything they then saw at Heliopolis has been reduced

to mounds of rubbish now, excepting this single stone. What a halo of interest invests it! Who would not wish to see it? Who can be unmoved as he looks upon it? Fifty centuries of history, and all the wisdom of Egypt are buried in the dust under his feet. You shift your position, and then smile at yourself—a sort of feeling had come upon you that you were obstructing the view of Joseph or of Herodotus, that you were standing in the way of Plato or of Moses.

But though the carking tooth of time has had no effect on the monument of Osirtasen, a small fly has for the present obliterated, on three sides of it, the record he placed upon them. It has done this by filling up the incised hieroglyphics with its mud-cells. Whether it be a mason-wasp, or a bee, I was unable to discover, the cells being out of reach. I saw the same temporary eclipse of the sculptures and hieroglyphics going on at Dendera and elsewhere. The venom of this little insect is, I was told, equal to its impudence.

The drive to Heliopolis is well worth taking on its own account. I saw by the wayside a greater variety of culture and of plants than elsewhere in Egypt; oranges, lemons, ricinus, which, with its spikes of red flowers and broad leaves, is a handsome plant, cactuses, vineyards, olive-trees, Australian eucalyptuses, and many other trees and plants.

Before I went to Heliopolis I asked a Scotchman I found myself seated next to at dinner one day at the *table d'hôte*, whether it was worth one's while to go? "I will tell you just how it is," he replied. "I have been there. There is nothing to see; but it will give you a pleasant afternoon. It is like going out a fishing. The day is fine. The country looks well. You have a pleasant friend, and a good luncheon, with

cigars and whisky. You come home without having seen a fish; but you are not dissatisfied with yourself for having gone." Having again met this gentleman after I had been there, he asked me how I had liked Heliopolis? He seemed so thoroughly satisfied with his own matter-of-fact and very intelligible way of regarding the world and all it contains, that I refrained from telling him what I had thought. In his presence I almost doubted whether any pearls, excepting his, were not counterfeits; at all events, I was sure they would appear so to him. This, however, was but a momentary misgiving. There are some other sorts which, though not so common, are quite as genuine as his; perhaps, too (but when one writes in English this must not be said without expressions of humility, and of readiness to receive correction) they may have been formed by animals, the ingredients of whose food where somewhat more varied than is the case with ordinary mollusks. But, be this as it may, those that are of the rarer sort have the advantage that, while they do not in the least interfere with the enjoyment of the sunshine, the pleasant scene, the friend, the good cigar, and the old whisky (perhaps rather heightening, because refining it), they are in themselves, and even without these agreeable adjuncts, a source of never-failing enjoyment. They are, as was said of such things long ago, as good for the night as for the day. They go with us into the country and accompany us on our travels. It may, however, be objected to them that, in this country they generally make their possessor unpractical, and leave him poorer, except in ideas, than they found him. There is no denying that it is so here, very often. Is the reason of this that our governing class, whether we

interpret those words to mean the class from which our legislators and administrators have hitherto very generally been taken, or the class that put them in their places, that is, the shopocracy (can we hope anything better from our new governing class, that of the British artizan ?) have cared for none of these things ? These influences have made us a money-worshipping people—not that we have loved money more than other people, but that money has had too much power amongst us—so that too many of us, like my Scotch acquaintance, have learnt to pooh-pooh everything which did not fetch money — that is to say, Nature and history, which are the materials, out of which truth is constructed; and art, poetry, philosophy, and science, which are the construction itself: everything but money, and what will bring money in the market. And so, too, it came about that our highest education was merely a form of classicism accommodated to a narrow and short-sighted theology.

We know that in certain exceptional cases (they ought not to be so very exceptional) a man may possess the world that is to come, as well as the world my Scotch acquaintance had so tight a grip of. This is a difficult thing to do : on our system, and with our ideas, a very difficult thing; still one that may be done. The difficulty, however, appears to be very considerably increased when the attempt is made to add to these two the possession of the world that has been. It is hard to keep two balls up in the air and going at the same time; but, to add a third, and to attend to all three properly, to give each its own due space and time, and to get them all to work harmoniously together, is a feat that reveals a very un-English

mind, but still it is the master-mind. What were the performances of Egyptian Proteus to this? By turns he was many things, but here is a man who, at one and the same time, has three souls, and lives three lives. It is so, however, only in appearance. The parable means that the man has passed mentally out of the flat-fish stage of existence, in which sight is possible only in one direction, and has reached the higher stage in which it is possible to look in every direction, and so to connect all that is seen all around as that the different objects shall not reciprocally obscure, but illumine each other.

CHAPTER XVI.

THEBES—LUXOR AND KARNAK.

For all Egyptian Thebes displays of wealth,
Whose palaces its greatest store contain:
That hundred-gated city that sends forth
Through every gate two hundred valiant men
In cars well-horsed.——HOMER'S *Iliad.*

LUXOR, Karnak, and Thebes, are three fragments of the hundred-gated city of Homer. The landing to which you moor your boat is about two hundred yards from the great Temple of Luxor. The open space between the landing and the temple is a slight acclivity, and is completely covered with sand. To the right and left of the open space are the mean buildings of the modern town. Those on the right cluster round and conceal the greater part of the temple, leaving only a grand colonnade visible from the water, at the further side of the open sandy acclivity. As you enter this colonnade, and stand in the roofed hall among the mighty pillars that support the roof, a feeling comes over you that you have shrunk to the dimensions and feebleness of a fly. The first sanctuary here was built by Amenophis III., who belonged to the dynasty that expelled the Hyksos. It was now seen that Thebes would be a safer capital than Memphis, which was too near the Semitic border. The close connection

also that had now been formed with Ethiopia, sometimes being that of its complete subjection, made a more southern capital desirable. The erection of the splendid Temple of Amenophis indicates the complete triumph of the new policy. This took place about four thousand years ago. Rameses the Great, the most magnificent and prolific architect the world has ever seen, was not satisfied with the original structure. Following the example of his father, Sethos, he conceived a plan for investing Thebes with a grandeur and a glory that none of the empires that have grown to greatness during the thousands of years that have passed since his day, have done anything to rival or approach. And this plan he carried out to a successful completion. Part of it was the architectural connection of Luxor and Karnak. For this purpose it was necessary to give additional height and massiveness to Luxor. This he did by attaching to the extremity of the Temple of Amenophis, nearest to Karnak, a grand court, beautified externally with colossal statues of himself and two obelisks; one of which is now standing where he placed it; the other is in the *Place de la Concorde* at Paris. Having made the Temples of Luxor and Karnak, by their height and massiveness, their lofty courts, propylæa and obelisks reciprocally conspicuous and imposing from each other, the direct connection was effected by a broad straight road or street, nearly two miles in length, guarded on either side by a row of sphinxes. Some of these, at the Karnak end of the connecting street, still remain; they are ram-headed. Fragments of others are found in the débris nearer Luxor.

Along the line of this old street which, however, except at its northern end, is quite obliterated by

rubbish mounds, cultivation, and palm-groves, you ride to Karnak. As you pass no houses by the way the distance seems great. Here was for many centuries the splendid centre of the most splendid city in the world. On nothing like it did the sun shine. The dwelling-houses, we may be sure, were not allowed to approach so near as to interfere with the solemnizing effect of the long dromos of sphinxes. This effect was the very object of these avenues of sphinxes and colossi which were prefixed to the temples. They shut out the world as the worshipper approached the temple, and prepared his mind for the services and the influences of the house of God.

The area of the sacred enclosure at Karnak was a square of about 2,000 feet each way. The enclosing wall is still everywhere traceable. In some parts it is but little injured by time. The whole of the enclosed area was built over. There were twenty-six temples within the enclosure. It was a city of temples. The axis of the main series points across the river to the gorge of the valley, in the Libyan hills, at the head of which were placed the tombs of the kings. Another series of temples reached down to the south-west entrance of the enclosure, where was the termination of the Luxor-Karnak street. These two series of temples may be roughly described as close and parallel to the north-eastern and north-western sides of the enclosure. The rest of the space was filled with more or less detached structures.

Here was, if not the sublimest—for the mass and simplicity of the Great Pyramid may contest that—yet certainly the most magnificent architectural effort ever made by man. What prompted it? At what did it aim? Of course it was the embodiment of an idea,

and that idea was, in its simplest expression, the same as the idea contained in the Greek temple and the Christian cathedral. It was the glorification of the builder's conception of the Deity. The difference in the structures, in their fashion and effect, arose out of the differences in the conceptions these people had respectively formed of the Deity. In the conception of the Egyptian awe was the predominant feature. Whatever else Deity might be, awfulness was its first attribute. Beauty, if at all, came in a comparatively low degree. With the Greeks and the Christians it was very different. The gods of the Greeks were connected with and took delight in Nature. The God of the Christians was the author of Nature. With them, therefore, the recognition and the creation and exhibition of what was beautiful, formed a part of the service of God. They felt that in religion a sense of and the sight of the beautiful disposed to love. The Egyptian beholder and worshipper was not to be attracted and charmed, but overwhelmed. His own nothingness, and the terribleness of the power and will of God, was what he was to feel. The soul of the Greek and of the Christian was to be elevated, not crushed; to be calmed, to be harmonized. One was the work of minds in which the instinct of freedom was operative; the other of minds which felt the powerlessness, the helplessness of man in the face of an unchangeable iron order alike of Nature and of society.

Moreover, as we have already seen, in Egypt Nature herself did not originate and nurture the thought of beauty. In Egypt were no rocky, moss-margined streams, no hanging woods, no shady groves, no lovely valleys. The two paramount objects in

Nature, as they presented themselves to the eye and the thought of the Egyptian, suggested to him absolute power on the part of Nature, and absolute dependence on the part of man. These two objects were a singularly dull and monotonous river, but without which the Egyptian world would be a desert, and the scorching sun, but without which all would be darkness and death. They did everything. Without them everything was nothing.

These stupendous structures, then, expressed the feebleness of the worshipper by magnifying the power of the object of his worship. They awed him, as was intended, into a sense of personal nothingness, while they called into being and fed a sense of irresistible power, external to man, the idea of which the peculiarities of everything Egyptian gave rise to. Moral ideas, engendered by the structure and working of Egyptian society, and ideas of the physical forces which were ever before them, and to which they felt their subjection, were entangled in their minds in an inextricable knot, and that knot was their religion.

On the walls of these stupendous structures is written and sculptured the history as well as the religion of Egypt, from Sesortesen I., who reigned five thousand years ago, down to the Roman Augustus: these are the earliest and the latest names inscribed on the lithotomes of Karnak The included space of time embraces the two last dynasties of the primæval monarchy; the Hyksos period; the whole of the new monarchy when Egypt rose to its zenith of power, glory, art, wealth, and wisdom; the domination of Persia; the Ptolemaic sovereignty; and a part of the Roman rule. None have inscribed so much history on these walls as the two mightiest of Egyptian

conquerors and builders, Sethos, and the stronger son of a strong father, his successor, Rameses the Great. These two Pharaohs themselves made more history than all who had gone before them; and none who followed them attained to their eminence. The buildings they erected are history, as much as their conquests.

The Coliseum is a part of Roman history. Its magnitude and its purpose are history. It tells us that Cæsar could issue a decree that all the world should be taxed; that Cæsar found it necessary to dazzle and amuse the populace; that the amusements of the populace were brutal; that amusement, not religion, was the order of the day. So in the stones of Karnak we see the plunder and the tribute of Asia and Ethiopia. Many a city had been made a desolate heap, and many a fair region had been ravaged and the silver and the gold collected, and the surviving inhabitants swept into the Egyptian net, and carried away captive into Egypt to assist in building the grand hypostyle Court of Karnak, the grandest hall ever constructed by man. In the direction of the axis of the connected series of temples this hall is 170 ft. long. Its width is 329 ft. It is supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. The central twelve are 62 ft. high in the shaft, and 36 ft. in circumference. The remaining one hundred and twenty-two columns are 42 ft. in height, and 28 ft. in circumference. The lintel stone of the great doorway is within 2 in. of 41 ft. in length. Every part of the walls, the pillars, and the roof is covered with coloured sculptures cut by the chisel of history, and of religion which, however, as far as we are concerned, belongs to history. The purpose of this hall was to

provide a fitting place for the great religious diets of the nation. It must have appeared to the thoughts of those times that the gods had assisted the king—who was already becoming their associate—in designing and erecting such a structure. We, however, are aware that no people can imagine or undertake such structures unless they are inspired with the sentiment that they are the greatest among the nations and at the head of the world. Great things—it is more true of literature than of architecture, but it is true of everything—are not done by imitation but by inspiration, and nothing inspires great things but greatness itself.

To the north-west of this stupendous and overpowering hall is an hypæthral court 100 ft. longer, and of the same width of 329 ft. A double row of columns traverses its central avenue. It has corridors on each side. It was left incomplete. This is plain from the enormous pyramidal propylons, by which it is entered, never having been sculptured. None who came after the Great Rameses were able to rise to the height of his conceptions. In the unsculptured walls of these propylons are the sockets, drilled through their whole thickness, for holding the beams which supported the lofty staffs for the flags which were used on great occasions. These lofty towers and these far-seen flags connected the temples of Karnak with the temples on the western bank of the river, and with the funeral processions to the catacombs of the kings in the opposite valley of the Libyan range, just as the north-western propylons and the dromos of sphinxes connected them with Luxor.

Though the name of Sesortosen, or Ositarsen I., is the first that appears on this series of temples, it would be a mistake to suppose that the date of the

greatness of the city must be taken from his reign. This is impossible, for he was the founder of the dynasty which came from Thebes. Thebes, therefore, in his time—4,500 years ago—had become sufficiently powerful to give a dynasty to Egypt. And when we look at its site, the island on the river, the great extent of fertile land on the east bank, with no inconsiderable extent also on the west, and the convenient approach of the Libyan Hills to the river side, we see that this was a spot designed by nature for one of the great cities of old Egypt. It was great under the old monarchy, and gave to the country the two last dynasties of that first monumentally-known period of its history. During the succeeding 400 years of the Hyksos domination, a cloud of almost impenetrable darkness settled down upon it, as upon everything else Egyptian. It rose under and with the new monarchy. The disadvantages of the site of Memphis and the conveniences of that of Thebes had been discovered. It, therefore, now became unreservedly the repository of all the glories, and the chief shrine of the religion of the country. The spoils of war, the tribute of subject nations, the rent of the royal demesne which comprised one-third of the land of Egypt, were spent here. Next to the court came the numerous and wealthy body of the priests; and they, too, were chiefly—though they had also other sources of income—supported by the rents of their estates. Besides these there was the official class, which again we know was numerous and wealthy. From these sources the growth and splendour of Thebes was fed for many centuries. We see from the tombs that in its best days the wealthy were not afraid to use and to display their wealth. The arts that embellish life, and which

had been inherited from the old monarchy, made great advances. Society developed tastes and arrangements not altogether unlike those of our own time.

At last the thunder-cloud, which had long been gathering in the north-east, drifted down to Egypt and the storm burst upon it. The Persian had come. And the grand old ship went to pieces. In Asia the days of Sethos and of Rameses had never been forgotten. The gods that had in their arks gone up with them to battle and to victory, were now defaced and dishonoured. The temples which had been built by the captives, and with the spoils brought out of Asia, were now sought for at Karnak, and dilapidated. The ruthless work the Egyptian had done was repaid ruthlessly. It was delightful to the soul of the Persian, now that his opportunity had come, to job the iron into the soul of the Egyptian.

But such a civilization as that of old Egypt takes a great deal of killing. It is the working of a thoroughly organized community in which every man is born to his work, has natural instructors in his parents and class, and so knows his work by a self-acting law of Nature. It survived the Persians. It Egyptianized the Greeks. It was not stamped out by the Romans. Christianity gradually enfeebled, absorbed, and metamorphosed it. At last came the Mahomedan flood and swept away whatever germs might have even then remained of a capacity for the maintenance of a well-ordered and fruitful commonwealth.

CHAPTER XVII.

THEBES—THE NECROPOLIS.

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est.
Hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas, ac rauca fluenta
Transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.——VIRGIL.

HITHERTO we have been on the eastern bank: we now pass to the western. Here we find an historical museum, unequalled by anything of the kind to be seen elsewhere, in variety of interest and in completeness. Nothing in the world, except the pyramid region, approaches to it. There the old primæval monarchy lies entombed; here, in the western quarter of the capital of the younger monarchy, and which has now appropriated to itself the name of Thebes, we have the catacombs of the kings, the tombs of the queens, the tombs of the priests, of the official class, and of private persons; the wonderful temple-palace of Medinet Habôo; the Memnonium, or rather Rameseum, again temple and palace; the old but well-preserved Temple of Corneh, and some other temples; the vocal Memnon and its twin Colossi. These form a gallery of historical objects and records of the arts, of the manners and customs, and of the daily life of one of the grandest epochs of Egypt. How can a few indications and touches convey to those who have

not seen them, any true or useful conception of the objects themselves, or of the thoughts they give rise to in the mind of the traveller who stands before them, and allows them to interpret to him the mind of those old times? They are contemporary records in which he sees written, with accompanying illustrations, chapter after chapter of old world history, anterior to the days of Rome, Greece, and Israel.

The tomb of the great Sethos, Joseph's Pharaoh, of his greater son, Rameses II., and of Menophres, in whose reign the Exodus took place, are all here. The tomb of Sethos reaches back 470 feet into the limestone Mountain, with a descent of 180 feet. Coloured sculptures cover 320 feet of the excavation. The exact point to which the sculptures had been carried on the day of his death, is indicated by the unfinished condition of the last sculptured chamber. The walls had been prepared for the chisel of the sculptor, but the death of the king interrupted the work. The draughtsman had sketched upon them, in red colour, the designs that were to be executed. His sketch had been revised by a superintendent of such works, who had corrected the red outlines with black ink, wherever they appeared to him out of proportion, or in any way defective. The freedom and decision with which the outlines were drawn exceed probably the power of any modern artist's or designer's hand. These sketches are quite as fresh as they were the day they were made. You see them just as they were outlined and corrected for the sculptor more than 3000 years ago. It would be worth while going to Egypt to see them, if they were the only sight in Egypt.

In this, and several others among the royal tombs, we find symbolical representations of the human race.

The Egyptians, the people of the North, of the East, and of the South, are indicated by typical figures. This is meant to convey the idea that Pharaoh was virtually the universal monarch. If he had not felt this Karnak would never have been built, nor, I will add, for the sake of the contrast, as well as the concatenation, would a humble East Anglian Vicar have spent last winter on the Nile.

The sculptures in these tombs may be divided under three heads. First, there are those which describe events in the life of the occupant of the tomb. Then there are scenes from common daily Egyptian life, in which he took such interest as to desire to have representations of them in his tomb. Lastly, there are scenes which illustrate what was supposed would occur in the future life of the deceased.

In the tomb which bears the name of Rameses III., there are several chambers right and left of the main gallery, in each of which is represented on the walls, some department of the royal establishment. The king's kitchen, the king's boats, his armoury, his musical instruments, the operations carried on upon his farms, the birds, and the fruits of Egypt, and sacred emblems; the three last symbolizing fowling, gardening, and religion. It is possible that the king may have buried here those of his household who presided over these departments, each in the chamber designated for him by the representations on the walls of what belonged to his office. If it were not so, of what use were the chambers? they could hardly have been excavated merely to place such pictures upon them.

As this Rameses III. was one of the warlike Pharaohs, and had, like his great namesake, led successfully large armies into Asia, we cannot suppose

that he had these scenes of home-life sculptured and painted in his tomb, either because he had nothing else to put there, or because the subjects they referred to were more congenial to his tastes than the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. He must, therefore, as far as we can see, either have been acting under the motive just mentioned, which, however, I cannot regard as a perfectly satisfactory suggestion; or he must have been influenced by some thought of what he would require in the intermediate state while lying in the tomb. Was there an idea that the soul of the mummy would, for a time, take delight in contemplating those scenes and objects, the fruition of which had contributed to its happiness during the earthly life?

What we see in the tombs of the priests and officials almost leads us to the conclusion that these representations had not, necessarily, a direct and special reference to the occupations of those who were buried in the tomb, and that they were placed on the walls merely as pictures, precisely as we hang upon the walls of our houses such pictures as please us. There was nothing in the aspects of Egypt which could lead them to wish to depict scenery. There were no charming bits of Nature, no cloud-landscape, no suggestive winter, spring, or summer scenes. Nor, again, was the turn of their minds dramatic, or such as might lead them to desire to reproduce in pictures those human scenes which would recall the workings of passion, or the poetry of life; and, indeed, their style of art would hardly have enabled them to deal with such subjects. They thus appear to have been confined to hard literal matter of fact representations of the arts of ordinary life, of Egyptian objects, of

funeral processions, and of what, according to their ideas, would take place in the next world. With these they decorated their walls. It was Hobson's choice. They had nothing else for the purpose. They may have had a special inducement to represent the common arts of life, such as cabinet-making, glass-blowing, weaving, pottery, &c., because they took a very intelligible pride in contemplating their superiority to the rest of the world in these matters, which, at that time, when an acquaintance with them was regarded as a distinction, were thought much more of than was the case afterwards, when all the world had attained to proficiency in them.

That these kinds of representations were sometimes looked upon merely as ornamental, or as such as any deceased Egyptian might contemplate, while in the mummy state, with satisfaction, may be inferred from the fact, that it was a common practice for an Egyptian to purchase, or to take possession of a tomb that had been sculptured and painted for others, and even used by them, with the intention of having it prepared for himself. Though, indeed, this may not have been done in the better days of old Egypt. He merely erased the name of the original occupant, and substituted for it his own. He did not feel that there was anything to render the pictures that had been designed by, and for another, inappropriate to himself. We know, too, that the pictures were often those of trades it was impossible the deceased could have practised; still they were pictures of Egyptian life it would be pleasing to contemplate. We had rather contemplate an historical picture, a *tableau de genre*, or a landscape, but as they had no idea of such things, and as civilization was

then young, and the simplest trade was regarded with pleasure for its utility, and as a proof of what is called progress, everybody was at that time of day pleased with its representation. Though we have entirely lost this feeling, I believe uneducated people would still, at the present day prefer, because it would be more intelligible to them, a picture representing the work of some trade to a landscape or historical piece. Of course the delight an Egyptian felt in such representations did not in the least arise from his being uneducated, but from a difference in his way of thinking and feeling; and in a difference in what art could then achieve. In short, these representations were meant either for the living or for the dead. In either case, to give pleasure, either to the beholder, or to the supposed beholder, must have been their object.

The valley, which contains the tombs of which I have been speaking, was devoted to the sepulture of the kings of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. The greater part of them were found open, and had, in the times of the Ptolemies, been already rifled. Their desecration, and the injuries they received, ought probably to be attributed to the Persians. I have already said something about the extent and the sculptures of the catacomb of Sethos. The chamber, containing the mummy of this great Pharaoh, had been so carefully concealed, that it fortunately escaped discovery down to our own time. Belzoni, in his investigation of this tomb, finding that a spot which a happy inspiration led him to strike, returned a hollow sound, had the trunk of a palm-tree brought into the gallery, and using it as a ram, battered down the disguised wall. This, at once revealed the chamber which, for more than four thousand years, had escaped Persian, Greek, Roman,

and Arab intrusion. In the midst of this chamber stood the royal sarcophagus. This sarcophagus, one of the most splendid monuments of Egypt in its best days, was of the finest alabaster, covered with the most beautiful and instructive sculptures. Who can adequately imagine the emotions of Belzoni at that moment? It had been reserved for him to be the first to behold, to be the discoverer of what had escaped the keen search of so many races of spoilers and destroyers, the finest monument of the greatest period of Egyptian history. That monument is now in Sir John Soane's Museum, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

In the valley to the west of this are some of the tombs of the preceding, the eighteenth, dynasty, that which drove the Hyksos out of Egypt. They have, however, been so dilapidated that not much is to be learnt from them.

Behind the great temple-palace of Medinet Haboo are the tombs of the queens and princesses. These, too, have been much injured; and have, at some period subsequent to that of their original appropriation, been used for the sepulture of private persons.

Along the foot of the hills, from the tombs of the queens to the entrance of the Valley of the Kings, is one vast necropolis for the priests, the official class, and wealthy private individuals. All these fall within the New Empire. Among them, however, are found some instances of royal interments, but they belong to the Old Empire. When we talk of the New Empire we must not forget its date: its palmiest days belong to the time of the Exodus and of Abraham's visit to Egypt.

As I rode through this city of the dead, visiting the tombs which possessed the greatest interest, I

endeavoured, as I had done in the necropolis of the Pyramids, to recall its pristine state; to see it as it was seen by those who constructed and peopled it. The tombs were then everywhere along the *Háger*, that is, on the first rise or stage of the desert, above the cultivated land. Here, as generally throughout Egypt, vegetable life, and the soil which supports it, do not extend one inch beyond the height of the inundation, which brings the soil as well as the water. The stony desert, and the plant-clothed plain touch with sharp definition, each maintaining its own character to the last, just as the land and sea do along the beach. From this line of contact to the precipitous rise of the mountains there is a wide belt of irregular ground. In some places this belt is a rocky level or incline, in others it is broken into rocky valleys, but always above the cultivated plain. The whole of it is thoroughly desert, and all of it ascends towards the mountains. It is everywhere limestone, though generally covered with débris from the excavations, and from the hill-side. Such is the site of this great necropolis.

In the days when Thebes was the capital, the whole of this space was covered with the entrances to the tombs. Some of these entrances were actual temples. Some resembled the propylons of temples. Some were gateways, less massive and lofty, but still conspicuous objects. In every tomb were its mummied inmates. They were surrounded by representations in stone, and colour, of the objects and scenes they had delighted in during life. Their property, their pursuits, what they had thought and felt, what they had taken an interest in, and what they had believed, were all around them. Objects of Nature, objects of

art, objects of thought, had each assumed its form in stone. Each was there for the mummy to contemplate. These were true houses for the dead. Houses built, decorated, and furnished for the dead. In which, however, the dead were not dead, but were living in the mummied state. We have rock-tombs elsewhere; but where, out of Egypt, could we find another such city? It is a city excavated in the rocky plain, and in the mountain valleys. It consists of thousands of apartments, spacious halls, long galleries, steps ascending and descending, and chambers innumerable. It is more extensive, more costly, more decorated, than many a famous city on which the sun shines. It is peopled everywhere with its own inhabitants; but among them is no fear, or hope—no love or hatred—no pleasure or pain—no heart is beating—no brain is busy.

As we wander about these mansions of the dead we feel as Zobeide did when she found herself in the spell-bound city. The inhabitants are present. Everything they used in life is present. Life itself only is wanting. Everything has become stone.

The largest of the tombs now accessible is that of Petamenap, a Royal Scribe. It is entered by a sunken court, 103 feet in length by 76. This was once surrounded by a wall, and entered by a lofty gateway, the two sides of which are still standing. This court leads to a large hall, which is the commencement of a long series of galleries, apartments, and side chambers—all excavated in the solid rock. Omitting the side chambers, and measuring only the galleries and apartments they pass through, the excavations of this single tomb extend to a length of 862 feet. The area excavated amounts to nearly 24,000 square feet, or an

acre and a quarter. These are Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's measurements, which have been accepted by Lepsius, who also himself carefully inspected the tomb. The whole of the wall-space gained by these excavations, which are actually more than one-third of a mile in length, is covered throughout with most carefully-executed sculptures, in the most elaborate style of Egyptian art. It is worth noticing that this tomb of a private individual exceeds in dimensions, costliness, and magnificence all the royal tombs—of course, excepting the Great Pyramids—with which we are acquainted.

We may infer, from the costliness of these tombs, and from the length of time it must have taken to excavate and adorn them, that the Egypt of the time to which they belong, was a wisely-ordered kingdom, in which, to a very considerable extent, not the arbitrary caprice of kings and governors, but law was supreme. At that time the scene of such a history as that of Naboth could not have been in Egypt. It must for long ages have been, in the very important matter of a man's doing what he pleased with his own, in a very unoriental condition. This tomb of Petamenap, and thousands of others, more or less like it, could only have been constructed where, and when subjects may acquire great wealth, and display it with safety.

We may also infer, from the size of the city under the new monarchy, and the wealth of its inhabitants, from their mode of living, their tastes and pursuits, and from the state of the arts which ministered to the convenience and adornment of their lives—upon all of which points this necropolis gives inexhaustible and absolutely truthful evidence; that a great part of the wealth of Thebes was drawn from precisely the

same source as that of Belgravia—that is, from the rent of the land.

An abundance of minor matters, but full of historical interest and instruction, may be gleaned from the same source. We find, for instance, that 3,350 years ago the principle and the use of the arch were familiar to the Egyptians; for there are several arches of that date in the tombs. Glass-blowing was practised. The syphon was understood, and used. In their entertainments the presence of both sexes was usual; and perfumes and flowers were on these occasions regarded as indispensable. The shadoof, the simplest and most effective application of a small amount of power to produce a considerable result, was as universally at work on the banks of the river, and of the canals, as at the present day; indeed, we cannot doubt but that it was much more so. But it is unnecessary to add here to these particulars.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THEBES—THE TEMPLE-PALACES.

Cur invidendis postibus, et novo
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?——HORACE.

WE will, now, having left the tombs, turn our attention to the temples. Some we find upon the edge of the Hágér, others a little way back upon it. The greater number of the temples that were once here have been completely razed to the ground, no remains of them having been left except fragments of statues, the foundations of walls, and the bases of pillars, all now buried in rubbish heaps. There are, however, some singularly interesting exceptions which demand particular notice. Fortunately, though it hardly looks like chance, the temple-palaces of Sethos, of the great Rameses, and of Rameses III., are still standing. These were built by the two great conquerors of the nineteenth, and the great conqueror of the twentieth dynasties. Why did not other Pharaohs erect similar structures? The reason is not far to seek. It is here present in the case of these three kings, and is absent from the cases of other kings. The funds necessary for such structures had to be procured by looting Asia, and a great part of the work had to be done by captives taken in war. And we know that at this time it was

the custom for those kings of Egypt, who contemplated great works, to begin their reigns with raids into Asia, for the express purpose of collecting the gold and the slaves that would enable them to carry out their designs. It was the good old rule, the simple plan, that those should take who had the power. These great and famous expeditions, in truth, were only imperial slave hunts, and imperial brigandage, in which not petty tribes of African negroes, but for those times the civilized nations of Asia, and not a few travellers, but the inhabitants of great cities and kingdoms were the victims. These great builders, administrators, and soldiers, who believed of themselves that they had already been received into the hierarchy of heaven, could not have understood in what sense they could have done ill in building themselves a wide house, and large chambers, and ceiling it with cedar, and painting it with vermilion, though they doubtless would have thought that it would have been ill even for an Egyptian Pharaoh to build his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, to use his neighbour's service without wages, and to give him not for his work. But how any question of unrighteousness and wrong could arise between Pharaoh and strangers, people who were not Egyptians, would have been something new and incomprehensible to Pharaoh. I once asked a fisherman's boy who was unconcernedly breaking up a basket full of live crabs to bait his father's nets, if it was not cruel work that he was about? "No," he replied, "because it is their business to find us a living." Somewhat in the same way did Pharaoh think of the outside world; and in much the same way, too, did he treat it when he wished to build himself a temple-palace. In these temple-palaces one hears the groans

and sees the blood of those who were broken up alive to build them.

There are no buildings in the old world so full of actually written and pictured history as these three temple-palaces, for each of them contains records of the achievements and life of the builder as they were regarded by himself, and of his religion as it was understood by himself. The grandest of the three is the Memnonium, or, as it ought to be called, the Rameseum. Here lived the great Rameses. He designed it, built it, and made it his home. He built it after his great Asiatic campaigns. How often here must he have fought his battles o'er again.

The Rameseum bears the same relation to all the other buildings of old Egypt that the Parthenon does to all the other remains of Greek architecture. It was built at the culminating point of Egyptian art and greatness. The conception was an inspiration of a consciousness of excellence and power. Everything here is grand, even for Egypt; the lofty propylons, the Osirid court, the great halls, and, above all, the colossal statue of the king seated on his throne, a monolith of red granite, weighing nearly 900 tons, and which is now lying on the ground in stupendous fragments, its overthrow having been probably the work of the vengeful Persians. Nothing can exceed the interest of this grand structure. It included even a spacious library, on the walls of which were sculptured figures of the god of letters and of the god of memory. Over the door by which it was entered was the famous inscription, "The medicine of the mind." And this more than three thousand years ago: and yet we may be sure that it did not contain the first collection of books that had been made in Egypt, but only the first

of which we have any record. We know that they had been keeping a regular register of the annual rising of the Nile then for nearly a thousand years, and that their written law ante-dated this library by between two and three thousand years. Both of these facts, to some degree, indicate collections of books. By a concurrence of happy chances, which almost make one regret that a grateful offering can no longer be made to good fortune, papyrus-rolls have been found dated from this library, and in the Háger behind have been discovered the tombs of some of the Royal librarians.

The Temple-palace of Sethos, the father of Rameses, though built with all the solidity of Egyptian architecture in its best days, is a very much smaller structure than the Rameseum. What remains of it is in very good preservation. It stands about a mile to the north-west of the latter building, some little way back in the Háger, and on somewhat higher ground, near the entrance of the Valley of the Kings. On one of the sphinxes belonging to it are inscribed the names of all the towns in the Delta Sethos conquered. This is an important record, as it shows either that the Semites had been able to some extent to re-establish themselves in the Delta, or that they had never been thoroughly subjugated in that part of the country before the time of Sethos. The work, however, was now done thoroughly, for from this time we do not hear of any troubles that can be assigned to them. The sculptures on the walls of this palace are in the freest and boldest style. They relate chiefly to religious acts and ceremonies. As Sethos was the designer and builder of the chief part of the stupendous hypostyle Hall of Karnak, it was not because his architectural ideas were less grand than those of his son that his

palace was so much smaller. I can imagine that the reason of this was that he was desirous that none of his attention and resources should be diverted from his great work, which was enough of itself to tax to their utmost all the powers both of the king and of the kingdom. It raises him in our estimation to find that his greatest work was not his own palace, but the hall in which the ecclesiastical diets of Egypt (of course the members were priests) were to be held; for though he was a Pharaoh, and a conquering Pharaoh too, he could see that the kingdom was greater than the king, and that to do great things well one thing must be done at a time.

A little to the south of the Rameseum is the third of these temple-palaces. It is that of the third Rameses. This, though not so grand and pure in style as the Rameseum, has been better preserved. Upon it and within it are the ruins of a Coptic town. The crude brick tenements perched on the roof, and adhering to the walls of the mighty structure, reminded me of the disfigurements of the obelisk of Heliopolis and of the propylons of Dendera by the mud-cells which insect architecture had plastered over them. So wags the world. Squalid poverty had succeeded to imperial splendour. But the same fate had waited upon both. The towers of kings and the hovels of the poor are now equally desolate and untenanted. One of the courts of the palace had been metamorphosed by the Copts of the neighbourhood into their church. From the expense which must have been incurred in effecting this transformation it is evident that they once formed here a numerous body. The community, however, has entirely disappeared from this place, and nothing —absolutely nothing—has come in its stead. They

say in the East that where the Turk sets his foot grass will not grow; but this is true of El Islam generally. It is great at pulling down and destroying, but not equally great at reconstructing.

The Christian church and the Egyptian temple are equally deserted. The old Egyptian and the Coptic Christian have equally vanished from this scene. It is curious as we stand here with equal evidence before us of the equal fate of both, to observe how little people care about the fate of the latter in comparison with what they care about the fate of the former; and yet there are, at all events, some reasons to dispose us favourably and sympathisingly towards our Coptic co-religionists. If the causes of the feeling could be analyzed, would it be found to have arisen from a half-formed thought that there was no gratitude to be felt to the poor Copt for anything he had done, and that the world had no hope of anything from him? Or would it be because there is really little to interest the thought in the fortunes of a community, of which we know little more than that, by having changed the law of liberty into a petrified doctrine, they had gone a long way towards committing moral and intellectual suicide?

In one of the private apartments of this temple-palace of Rameses III. the sculptures represent the king seated on a chair, which would not be out of place at Windsor or Schönbrunn. His daughters are standing around him offering him fruit and flowers and agitating the air with their fans. He amuses himself with a game of drafts and with their conversation.

Somewhat in advance of these temple-palaces of the two Rameses stand on the cultivated plain the two

great colossi of Thebes. The space between them is sufficient for a road or street. The easternmost of the pair is the celebrated vocal Memnon of antiquity. It is covered with Roman inscriptions placed upon it by travellers who were desirous of leaving behind them a record of the fact that they had not been disappointed in hearing the sound. That was an age when the love of the marvellous, combined with ignorance of what Nature could and could not do, prepared and predisposed men for being deceived. There can be no doubt how the sound was produced. There is an excavation in the lap of the seated figure in which a priest was concealed, who, when the moment had arrived, struck a stone in the figure which rang like brass. The Arabs now climb into the lap in a few seconds, and will for a piastre produce the sound for you at any hour of the twenty-four you please. The Emperor Hadrian heard three emissions of the sound on the morning he went to listen. This is a compliment we are not surprised to hear the statue paid to the ruler of the world.

This colossus was erected by Amunophis III., a name which, by an easy corruption, the Greeks transformed into Memnon, just as they changed Chufu into Cheops, Amenemha into Mœris, and Sethos into Sesostris.

Behind these colossi stood a temple which had been erected by the same Amunoph. Nothing now remains of this temple but its rubbish heap, and its foundations. It was, however, once connected architecturally, with the temple which Amunoph had built at Luxor, on the other side of the river. The street that connected them was called Street Royal. This was the line Sethos, and the two Rameses must always

have taken in going from their palaces on the western bank to Luxor and Karnak on the eastern side. It must have been about two miles in length. The line of this Royal Street is marked by the two still standing colossi. The fragments of a few others have been found. Those that remain are sixty feet in height. This must have been a grand street, with the two temples at its two ends, and part of it, at all events, consisting of a dromos of such figures.

I have already mentioned that a sphinx-guarded street ran from Luxor to Karnak, which, like the Royal Street from Thebes to Luxor, was about two miles long. I have also pointed out that the north-west angle of the great enclosure of Karnak was connected, to the eye, with the temples of the western Háger. The precise spot upon the Háger where a temple had been made conspicuous to the eye from Karnak, was what is now called Assassef. Of course from Assassef the lofty structures of Karnak were in full view. In order to place the temple at Assassef reciprocally in view to the spectator standing at Karnak, it was necessary to remove a part of the natural rock wall of the eastern side of the valley of Assassef, and this had been done. From this point temples, and temple-palaces were continuous along the edge of the Háger, in front of the Necropolis, as far as the western extremity of the Royal Street. Thus was completed the grand Theban Parallelogram. The circuit of the four sides measured, I suppose, about eight miles. It included every one of the great structures of Luxor, Karnak, and Thebes. There can be no doubt but that the lofty propylæa, and obelisks of Luxor and Karnak were intended to be seen from a distance. As the site of Thebes was, of itself, some-

what elevated above the sites of Luxor and Karnak, there was no occasion for obelisks at Thebes; and as they would also have been backed by the mountains to one looking from the other side of the river, they would have been inconspicuous, and therefore this architectural form was not used at Thebes.

The structural connection of all the mighty, magnificent buildings throughout these eight miles was the grand conception of Rameses the Great, of which I spoke some way back. There never were, we may be quite sure, eight such miles on the surface of this earth. It is rash to prophecy, but we may doubt whether there ever will be eight such miles again. We may, I think, say there will not be, unless time give birth to two conditions. The first of the two is, that communities should become animated with the desire to do for themselves what these mighty Pharaohs did for themselves in the old days of their greatness; and as man is much the same now that he was then, and as private persons are capable of entertaining the same ideas as kings, there is no *à priori* reason against the possibility of this. The second condition is, that machinery should eventually give us the power of cutting and moving large masses of stone at a far cheaper rate than is possible, with that already mighty assistant, at present. For, as the world does not go back, we may be sure that myriads of captives, and of helpless subjects will never again be employed in this way. It is quite conceivable that the mass of some community may come to feel itself great, the feeling being in the community generally, and not only in the individual at its head; and should they at the same time entertain the desire that the magnificence of their architecture should be in proportion to, and express

the greatness of their ideas and sentiments; then the world may again see hypostyle halls as grand as that of Karnak, and magnificence equal to that of the Osirid Court of the Rameseum: with, however, the difference that they will be constructed by, and for the community. In this there would be no injury in any way to any one, and there would be nothing to regret, for those who had raised such structures, and were in the habit of using them, would perhaps on that account be less likely to be mean, and little in the ordinary occurrences of life. At all events there would be nothing demoralizing in making machinery the slave to do the heavy drudgery required in their construction.

There is one source of interest which belongs to the study of the antiquities of Egypt in a higher degree than to the study of the antiquities of any other country. Every object on which the eye may rest, whether great or small, from the grandest architectural monument down to a glass bead, is thoroughly Egyptian. Not a tool with which the compact limestone, or intractable granite was cut; not a colour with which the sculptures or walls were decorated; not a form in their architectural details; not a thought, or practice, or scene the sculptures and paintings represent was, as far as we know, borrowed, or could have been borrowed, from any neighbouring people. The grand whole, and the minutest detail, everything seen, and everything implied, was strictly autochthonous; as completely the product of the Egyptian mind, as Egypt itself is of the Nile.

CHAPTER XIX.

RAMESES THE GREAT GOES FORTH FROM EGYPT.

> Why, then the world's mine oyster,
> Which I with sword will open.——SHAKSPEARE.

RAMESES THE GREAT was the Alexander of Egypt. His lot was cast in the palmiest days of Egyptian history. He was the most magnificent of the Pharaohs. None had such grand ideas, or gave them such grand embodiment. He carried the arms of Egypt to the utmost limits they ever reached. As one stands at Karnak, Thebes, and Abydos, before the sculptures he set up, and reads in them the records of his achievements, and of the thoughts that stirred within him, the mind is transported to a very distant past—but though so distant, we still may, by the aids we now possess, recover much of its form and features. Let us then endeavour to construct for ourselves some conception of his great expedition from the materials with which the monuments and history supply us.

Egypt is very flourishing. Pharaoh has an army of 700,000 men and great resources, and so he becomes dissatisfied at remaining idle in his happy valley. There is a wonderful world up in the north-east. He would like to be to that world what we might describe as an Egyptian Columbus and Cortez in one. He wishes to signalize the commencement of his reign with some achievement that will be for ever

famous. But these distant people have never wronged him: they have never burnt his cities, or driven off his cattle. If they have ever heard of the grandeur of Egypt, they can hardly tell whether it belongs to this world of theirs, or to some other world. Considerations, however, of this kind do not affect him.

But there are many difficulties in his way. The very first step of the proposed expedition will carry his army into a desert of some days' journey. How is this desert to be crossed? That is disposed of by the answer that his father Sethos crossed it. But how is his army to be supported in that unknown world beyond? How are provisions to be procured, for they cannot be supplied from Egypt? The people they will invade can support themselves; what they have must be taken from them, and war must be made to support itself. But supposing all goes well as they advance, how shall they ever get back, with their arms worn out, and their ranks thinned, and with a vengeful foe barring their return with fortified places, and swarming upon them from every side? They must, on their outward march, raze all these fortified places, and make as clean a sweep as they can of the population of the countries they pass through. And how shall the Egyptians live when Nature shall assail them with frost and snow? Will their linen robes be then sufficient? They must do what they can. They will be able to take the woollen garments of the enemies they destroy. The difficulties, then, could not deter him. He must see this great and wonderful world outside. He must flaunt his own greatness in its face. He must collect the treasures and the slaves that will be required for building the mighty temples and palaces he contemplates. These monu-

ments he must have; and he will record upon them that he did not, in raising them, tax and use up Egyptians.

And so it becomes a settled thing that he and his armies shall go forth from Egypt. It would not have been the East had not the host, with which he was to go forth, been a mighty one—as sand on the seashore for multitude. Everything must be on a grand scale, and everything must be foreseen and provided for, as is the custom of the wise Egyptians.

Then began a gathering of men, of horses, of chariots, of asses, such as had never been seen on the earth before—as much greater than other gatherings as the pyramids were greater than other buildings. In those mighty structures they had had an example now for a thousand years of the style and fashion in which should be carried out whatever Egypt undertook. Day and night were the messengers going to and fro on the bank and on the river. Many new forges were put in blast, many new anvils set up. Never had the sound of the hammer been so much heard before, never had been seen before so many buyers and lookers-on in the armourers' bazaars. There were canvas towns outside the gates of Thebes, of This, of Memphis, and of other great cities. Never had so many horses been seen picketed before: men wondered where they all had come from. On the river there were boats full of men, and boats full of grain, to people and to feed the canvas towns. Never had the landing-places been so crowded before. Many a river trader in those days had to drop away from his moorings against the bank to make room for the grain-boats and the troop-boats of the great king. Never had the temples been so full before: never had there been so many processions,

and so many offerings. The gods must be propitiated for the great expedition: it must be undertaken in their names. Mightier temples and richer offerings must be promised for the return of the king and of the host, when they shall bring back victory. Many said in those days of preparation, "The gods be with the king and with his armies." Many said in their hearts, "Who can tell? The gods had made Egypt great, but would they go forth from Egypt? The king was as a god, but could he do all things?" This was an issue that could not be forecast.

Such was the talk of many in the mud-built villages, as well as in hundred-gated Thebes, in old Abydos, in Memphis, and in all the cities of all the gods—for every god had his own city. Nothing else had much interest, either in the mansions of the rich, or in the hovels of the poor. The wives and daughters of the people—while in the evening they walked down to the river-side with their water-jars or, when the sun was down, clustered together at the street-corners and at the village-gate, sitting on the ground—had never tarried before so long at those watering-places, those gates, and those street-corners. And all the while the musterings and the preparations went on like the work of a machine, for the king had the whole people well in hand, and he bent all Egypt to the work as if it had been one man.

And now all things are ready. The last processions and offerings have been made. The aid of the gods has been promised. The priests had thought that Egypt, at all events, would be secure, whatever might befall those going forth; that no abiding evil consequences could ever ensue to the country itself. In this they knew not the future. If all should not go

well, Egypt, they deemed, could spare some of her soldier caste, and that her priests would in that take no hurt. As to the stranger, no matter what his thirst for vengeance, it never would be slaked in Egypt.

And now the host has reached Pelusium, the place which, under the name of Abaris, had been fortified so strongly on the expulsion of the Hyksos. This was the great rendezvous. In that neighbourhood the several army-corps had been assembling for the last two or three months. And now it is near the end of winter. Water will still be found in the wadies of Mount Cassius; and they will be in time to reap for themselves the harvests of Syria; and, as the season goes on, of the countries further to the north. At last they advance into the desert, and the host is brought together for the first time. Never before had been seen such a host. All the might and all the glory of Egypt are there. All the discipline and all the forethought. These Egyptians, who are so fond of colour and of flags at home, have not gone forth to show themselves to the world without this bravery. The desert cannot be seen for the myriads of men and animals that cover it. It has become as gay as a flower-garden. The bright sun is glinting from untarnished arms.

And so they crossed the desert and got among the cities which were afterwards known as the cities of the Philistines, the cities of the Plain of Sharon. And now commenced their cruel work. Their two great objects were to provide themselves with supplies; and then to sweep away everything, both fortified places and men capable of bearing arms, that might impede their return, they knew not when or how. These people had never troubled Egypt, but most of them

were akin to the hated Hyksos. No justification was needed, but that would justify anything. The Egyptian host must take all it wanted, though those from whom they take it perish; and they must leave neither foe nor pretended friend behind. And so they went on, clearing off everything, man and beast, fenced city and corn-field. It was done ruthlessly. Their swords and spears were seldom dry. You see on the sculptures the king set up when he returned home, how he treated the people whose countries he passed through, for this was not an expedition against enemies, but against the tribes and nations whose countries he chose to pass through and desolate.

And so they went on. They swept over the Plain of Esdraelon, and they passed up by Lebanon and Damascus into Armenia. They then overran Persia and Media. At last they reached Bactria, the district of which modern Bokhara is now the capital. Here they effected a lodgment, which kept this region in subjection and tributary to them for some generations. It is curious that in this remote and almost inaccessible centre of Asia the Greeks also in after times succeeded in establishing themselves, and were able to maintain the position they had acquired in it for several centuries. This was the Egyptians' extremest point to the East. They now turned their faces westward, and, having overrun Asia Minor, they crossed into Thrace. From Thrace they appear to have endeavoured to make the circuit of the Euxine. This brought them into collision with the Scythians, whom they defeated. Among those peoples whose cities he destroyed, and whose country he ravaged, Rameses had probably taken no especial notice of the Persians. They, however, were the people who were destined to retaliate

the wanton and enormous cruelties of the undertaking, in the success of which he saw only the establishment of the glory and power of Egypt. In the days of their empire they will not only repay Egypt for this expedition, but they will also follow the footsteps of Rameses through Asia Minor, across the Bosphorus into Thrace, and through Thrace and across the Danube into Scythia. But from the wide inhospitable steppes they will not bring back the barren victories—no others could be obtained there—which will enable the Egyptians to boast that the achievements of Darius had not equalled those of Rameses.

At the eastern end of the Black Sea, in the district known to the Greeks by the name of Colchis, Rameses left a detachment of his army for the purpose of permanently occupying a position. Those thus left behind established themselves on the spot; and long afterwards, by their retention of the rite of circumcision, their language, complexion, and hair, retained the evidence of their origin. As their hair was woolly and their skin black, they must have been detached from the Ethiopian contingent of the army.

Everywhere throughout this great raid Rameses set up statues and tablets with inscriptions upon them to commemorate his achievements, making many of them insulting to the people he had conquered, and whose countries he had devastated. One of these inscriptions remains to this day on the living rock to the north-west of Damascus, near the mouth of the river the Greeks called Lycus, and which is now known by the name of El Kelb. Upon it are still legible the names of Rameses and of the gods Ra (the sun), and Ammon, whom especially he served, as the gods of his great capital, Thebes.

And so, after nine years of such warfare as we have been describing, he returns to favoured and protected Egypt to thank Ra and Ammon for the favour and protection they had vouchsafed to him, and for all the mighty deeds they had enabled him to do, and to preserve for ever the memory of those deeds on the walls of their temples. He brings back with him much treasure, the spoils of the nations, and multitudes of captives. Both this treasure and these captives are used up upon the temples and upon the monuments, palaces, and cities, he now builds.

Without any possible provocation, and without any advantage to himself, if the wear and tear of his own kingdom be weighed in the balance against the spoil and the slaves he brought home, he had, like a lava torrent, passed over what were then some of the fairest portions of the world. His swarthy, blood-thirsty, destroying host must have appeared to the inhabitants of these countries like the legions of the lower world let loose. This was too dreadful a work even for those times ever to be forgotten.

And it was remembered some centuries afterwards, when the tables were turned, and Egypt was invaded by Cambyses. In the Persian army were contingents from many people who had treasured up the memory of what Rameses the Great had on this expedition done to their forefathers, and of what several of the successors of Rameses on the throne of Egypt had in like manner done to many of the people of Asia. The day of reckoning came, and the reckoning was fearfully exacted. We see the marks remaining on the temples to this day of the retributive fury of the Persians against the gods of Egypt.

CHAPTER XX.

GERMANICUS AT THEBES.

Tanquam tabula naufragii.——BACON.

WHILE I was at Thebes the account often recurred to me which Tacitus gives of the visit of Germanicus to the monuments of that city. He was, being then about thirty years of age, the most accomplished and popular prince the family of the Cæsars produced. His many civic and martial virtues had attracted to him the eyes and the hearts of the world. These high expectations, however, his foul murder speedily and cruelly extinguished. The attention he bestowed on the historical monuments of Egypt enhances the regard we feel for him.

How many ingredients of interest would a picture combine which presented to us the young Cæsar standing, as the historian describes him, in the temple-palace of Rameses, by the side of the great king's prostrate granite colossus, attended by his Roman suite, and some of the elders of the Egyptian priests, who are explaining to him the records on the monuments. A pendant to it, which would possess sufficient connecting points and contrasts of interest, would be a picture of his adoptive ancestor, the great dictator, in

the Palace of the Ptolemies, dallying with the Calypso of the Nile.

Here is the passage from Tacitus's annals I had in my mind. "It was in the Consulate of M. Silanus and L. Norbanus that Germanicus visited Egypt. He gave out that he wished to see to the affairs of the province, but his real object was to make himself acquainted with its antiquities. . . . Starting from Canopus, and ascending the Nile, he reached the vast remains of Thebes. Enormous structures were still standing, covered with hieroglyphics, which chronicled the bygone grandeur of Egypt. One of the oldest and most distinguished of the priests was ordered to interpret to him the record. He told him that it stated that the population of the country had, at that old time to which it referred, been able to supply an army of 700,000 men of the military age; and that, with that army, King Rameses had conquered Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia; and the whole of Syria and Armenia, and of the neighbouring Cappadocia. That he had then added to his empire all between the coast of Bithynia on one side, and that of Lycia on the other. They also read the amounts of tribute he had imposed on each nation; the weights of silver and of gold; the number of horses, and of different kinds of arms; the offerings to be made to the temples of ivory and of incense, and the quantity of corn, and of various kinds of vessels. The totals were not less magnificent than those now imposed by Parthian violence or Roman might.

"There were also other wonders to which Germanicus directed his attention. Among these were the stone figure of Memnon, which, when struck by the

rays of the rising sun, emits a sound resembling the human voice; the pyramids, which had, in a region of drifting and hardly passable sands, been raised by the rivalry and wealth of kings to the height of mountains; lakes that had been excavated for the storage of the overflow of the Nile; perplexing intricacies and inexplorable recesses which in no direction could be penetrated by those who might wish to enter them. After he had visited these sights he went to Elephantiné and Syené, the gate formerly of the Roman Empire, which, however, has now been extended to the Red Sea."

One would much like to know how Tacitus got these particulars of the prince's Egyptian tour. Romans were in the habit of keeping diaries, and we cannot doubt but that the practice was followed by one so accomplished and thoughtful as Germanicus. Was it then from the journal of the prince himself? The family might have allowed the historian to make use of it for the purposes of his forthcoming work. Or was it from the journal of some unconscious Russell of the prince's suite? Or had Tacitus himself accompanied the prince?

It may be worth noticing that the account the priest gave to Germanicus of the conquests of Rameses the Great was substantially the same as that which had been given to Herodotus four centuries and a half earlier. It was the same record, read from the same lithotome. Of course, Herodotus gives to him the name by which he was known among the Greeks of Sesostris.

All these monuments of early Egyptian history—for the remains of even the Labyrinth are still sufficient to enable one to make out the plan of the structure—our English Prince had an opportunity, a few years back, of

seeing very much in the condition in which the Roman Prince saw them 1850 years ago. The Empire, of which he was the hope, is now, like the Egypt he was studying, a thing of the past. We may be permitted to entertain the double hope, that such precious records of man's history may, for other thousands of years yet to come, escape the common fate of man's works, and still not outlive the empire of their later visitor.

CHAPTER XXI.

MOSES'S WIFE.

> Black, but such as in esteem
> Prince Memnon's sister might beseem.
>
> ——MILTON.

WHILST at Assouan we received an intimation from the Governor that, if agreeable, he would, at a certain hour in the afternoon, present himself to our party. It was impossible that anything in the world could give us greater pleasure. And so at the appointed time he arrived, attended by a kavass and pipe-bearer. The former he left on the bank, the latter came on board with him. The Governor turned out to be quite as black as a Guinea negro, but there the resemblance ended. His face was a good, rather long oval, and his features as fine as those of a Greek Apollo. Off a straight forehead he had a straight nose with a thin nostril. There was no trace of coarseness about his mouth. His skin was as smooth, and soft, and thin as that of an Arab girl. He was above six feet in height, and clean-limbed. His build conveyed the idea of strength combined with lithesome agility; though, as he sat leisurely smoking his pipe, he did not at all look like a man who was ever in a hurry. His manners were easy and dignified, full of grace and smiles. He

was very intelligent, and readily answered any questions that were put to him through the dragoman about the condition of the people, and of the country. He had been born at Assouan, and had never been out of the neighbourhood. I regret now that I did not ask him some questions about his parentage. I suppose his mother, at least, must have been a Nubian, or Abyssinian. The colour of his complexion indicated rather the former, his features perhaps the latter. Possibly there had been much mixture of blood in his family for some generations, perhaps through odalisque channels; for the children of odalisques and regular wives are treated as equals. An European might have made a companion or friend of this man, a footing upon which he never could place himself with a negro.

I have given the above account of our visitor for an historical purpose. We find that some of the queens of Egypt were black. So must have been the wife of Moses. Their physical and mental characteristics, then, I suppose, must have resembled those of the Governor of Assouan.

CHAPTER XXII.

EGYPTIAN DONKEY-BOYS.

Alas! regardless of their doom,
The little victims play:
No sense have they of ills to come,
No care beyond to-day.——GRAY.

THE donkey-boys, the gamins of Egypt, are a quick-witted and amusing variety of the species. They are never sulky or stupid. A joke is not lost upon them, and it is pleasing to see their supple features lighting up at its recognition. They often originate something of the kind themselves. The detection of their attempted exactions and little villanies is to them a source of merriment that is inexhaustible.

They have picked up a little English. What they have acquired they teach each other, and are always on the look-out to add, from the talk they have with their customers, a word or two more to their little store. I was sometimes asked by the bare-legged urchin running by my side to teach him English. At Benihassan, having one of these volunteer scholars who was asking the English for all the objects we passed, I found it was some time before he could pronounce the ns at the end of the word beans, with a single emission of breath. We were passing through a bean-field. He endeavoured to get over his

difficulty by the introduction of a vowel, making the word beanis. I had observed that the Arabs at the Pyramids dealt with the word sphinx, in precisely the same way, disintegrating the x, and introducing an i, thus making it sphinkis. So the captain of our boat, being unable to utter the letters cl without the intervention of a vowel, changed the name of one of our party from Clark into Cellark. The English expression best known and most used in Egypt is "All right." With some this represents the whole language, and does duty on all occasions. I heard one evening a sailor on board the boat giving another sailor a lesson in our noble tongue. The whole lesson consisted of the two phrases, "All right," and "D——d rogue."

At Karnak the donkey-boy, who happened one day to be with me, asked me to teach him something. I told him he must first say something himself in English, that I might be able to adjust my instruction to his proficiency. Without a moment's hesitation he gave the following specimen of his attainments in the language. It may also be taken as a specimen of the progress his youthful wits had made in the civilized art of flattery. "English man come see Karnak say, 'Very fine! glorious!' French man come see Karnak say, 'G—— d——.'" Had I been a Frenchman, the national imprecation would have been assigned to its rightful owner.

The following day the youngster whose beast I was riding to the same place, after having endeavoured to palm off upon me some Brummagem scarabs, took from his bosom a half-fledged dove, and holding it up by its wings said with a merry grin, "Deso bono antico." Italians abound in Egypt, and many of the natives in the towns have picked up these three

Italian words. "Bono," and "non bono" are in universal use.

At Thebes, where the rides to the catacombs of the Kings, and in the opposite direction to the tombs of the Queens, are long, and in the hot desert you will probably be attended, in addition to the donkey-boy, by a girl with a water-jar on her head. The endurance of these little bodies surprises one. The same girl accompanied me two days consecutively, from about 10 A. M. till 4 P. M., running, bare-footed, over the pointed and angular broken stones of the desert, in the blazing sun, keeping up with the donkey, and holding all the time the water-jar on her head with one hand. She had opportunities for resting when we were inspecting tombs, and when we were taking our luncheon. To an European she would have appeared about fourteen years of age, perhaps she was eleven. She would have made a very pretty water-colour figure, with her clear yellow skin, gleaming black eyes, snow-white teeth, coral lips and necklace of the same; the brown gooleh on her head, and her hand raised to support it. She might have stood for her portrait, either at the moment when replacing the water-jar on her head with one hand, she was holding out the other, with an imploring smile on her face, for backsheesh; or as, with a grateful and satisfied smile, she was depositing the piastre in her bosom. Her smooth, yellow complexion, had in it more of the crocus than of the nut, probably because she had more of old Egyptian than of Arabic blood in her veins. As to the water she carried, it had been dipped out of the muddy river, and having been churned all day on her head in the sun, could have possessed no merit beyond that of moistening a parched mouth and throat. As to myself, I had

no need of the little body's water-jar. On these occasions happy is the man whom Nature has so compounded, or his manner of life so trained, that he can go a dozen hours together without feeling tired, hungry, or thirsty. Those who are always craving for a bottle of beer, and are only made more heated by the draught, are not so much their own masters as they might have been.

I fell in with an amusing specimen of an Arab village girl, at Benihassan. I had been to the tombs that are known by the name of this place. They are cut in the rock of the hill-side, and are as interesting, and instructive as any to be found elsewhere in Egypt, both architecturally and pictorially. They contain some arched ceilings, though not of construction, but excavated in that form, and sixteen-sided piers, each face being slightly concaved, and closely resembling the Doric style. The illustrations on the walls, of Egyptian life in the remote days of the primæval monarchy, to which these paintings belong, are varied and curious. They have unfortunately been somewhat injured, not so much, however, by time, as from the tombs having been used for human habitation. As I was riding back from an inspection of these antique monuments, an Arab girl, not of the crocus, but of the nut-brown tint, attached herself to me, and was very pressing for backsheesh. Having for some time held out against her petition, she suddenly sprang forward a few paces, and threw herself on the ground, exactly in the donkey's path, and became violently convulsed with a storm of uncontrollable agony. In her convulsions she shrieked, and threw dust on her head. I rode on, apparently without taking any notice of the victim of overwhelming disappointment. In a few

moments she was up again, and again at my side with the same petition. A few moments later she enacted a second time the scene of distracted agony. But finding that one's flinty heart was not moved in the way expected by these harrowing performances,

> With Nature's mother-wit, and arts *well* known before,

for the remainder of the way she ran along side, still holding out her hand, but now all open sunshine and winsome smiles. Her whole simple being was so entirely bent to the one point of getting a piastre, that the little exhibition had an interest one was unwilling to terminate.

Those who have hitherto seen only the muddy-red skins, and leathery mulattoes of the western world, will be surprised at finding the soft, smooth browns, and yellows of the east so pleasing. They may almost come to think that these are the most natural complexions both for man and woman; and that in this matter the white of our lilies is, but such a heresy is inconceivable, rather the defect than the perfection of colour.

The Cairo donkey-boy shows some sense of fun in the names he keeps in store for his donkey. If the man whose custom he desires to secure appears to be an American, the donkey will, perhaps, be recommended under the name of Yankee Doodle: "No donkey, sir, like it in all the world." If an Englishman, it may become Madame Rachel: "a donkey that is beautiful for ever." This will be inappropriate to the gender of the beast; but that is a matter of no consequence. If a Frenchman—the French are very unpopular in Egypt—it will assume the name of Bismarck: "a very strong donkey that can go

anywhere." This must be meant to repel a badly-paying customer, or it may be used to attract a German.

The unmercifulness of these boys to their donkeys —travellers would do well to discourage it—arises partly from a wish that the present engagement should be got through as quickly as possible, in order that the boy and donkey may be ready for another, and partly from a wish that you should think so well of the donkey's pace as to be induced to hire it again. You see what is passing in their little minds, by their frequently asking you whether the donkey is not a good one. Should they carry their way of making their animal appear good too far for your humanity, it may be allowable to make them understand that you think the donkey bad and the boy bad, but the stick good. Theoretically, they may not disagree with you, for they hear at home a saying that the stick came down from heaven — by which is inculcated on the youthful mind the lesson that it is a great gain to get off a payment that is demanded of one, by submitting, instead, to the bastinado.

With this single exception of unmercifulness, I have nothing to say against these juvenile Mustaphas and Mahommeds. They are always smiling, and never tired. I had one run by my side from Bellianeh to Abydos and back, which, I suppose, must be seventeen miles. They will gladly do you any little service they can, carrying anything for you, or running a long way to get you what you may want—of course, for a few piastres. When we had got on board the steamer at Ismailia, and were on the point of starting for Port Saïd, my companion found that he had left his binocular at the hotel. He told a donkey-boy, who

happened to be at hand, to ride off as quickly as he could to the hotel, and ask for the instrument. The boy went, and brought it back as quick as his donkey could carry him. Had he been dishonestly inclined, he might have ridden home with it, for he knew that the steamer was on the point of starting. With this probable piece of honesty in my mind, on the follow-day, while rowing about the harbour of Port Saïd, I asked the Arab boatman what his father had taught him. Had he taught him to be honest? "Yes, he had." Had he taught him to speak the truth? "No, he had not."

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCARABS.

His quondam signis, atque hæc exempla secuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
Ætherios dixere.——VIRGIL.

It would have been strange, indeed, if the Egyptians, who were so sharp-sighted in detecting what, from their point of view, appeared to be the fragments of Deity scattered among the lower animals — birds, beast, fish, and reptile—had failed to observe what we regard as the instincts of the common Egyptian beetle.

Few people visit Egypt without bringing back an antique scarab or two. They are to be found everywhere throughout the country ; and yet it must be nearly two thousand years since one of these antiques was carved or moulded. In what vast numbers, then, must they have been manufactured by the old Egyptians. The scarab is also as common in their hieroglyphics as it is in the rubbish-mounds of their old cities. These facts give us the measure of the impression the habits of the insect made upon them.

It is one of the commonest out-o'-door insects in Egypt. At the season for depositing its eggs it alights upon the bank of the river, where the soil is still

moist, about the consistency of tough dough, or clay sufficiently trodden for brick-making. Upon this it lays its eggs, depositing them closely together. It then forms the spot on which it has laid them into a perfect sphere, by adding clay to the top of it, and cutting away the earth around and beneath it. The sphere being thus completed it thrusts the extremities of its two inward curved hind legs into the opposite sides of it, and by pushing backwards gives to it a revolving motion; the inserted points of its hind legs forming the axis on which it revolves. In this way it pushes and rolls it back to the edge of the desert, often a long way off.

Who could be so dull as not to see in this sphere, full of the seeds of life, a perfect symbol of this terrestrial globe, formed by creative wisdom and energy, and instinct, with all the germs of endlessly manifold being? And so the beetle became the symbol of the Creator.

But when the symbol of the Creator with his burden, the symbol of the life-containing globe, had arrived at the edge of the desert (what divine forethought in thus foreseeing the effects of the damp, and of the inundation! and these primæval observers had not extinguished thought on these subjects by labelling such acts as instincts, and then putting them away on a shelf) it there excavated a gallery a foot or two deep—a catacomb, a grave into which it descended. This also did not escape them. It had buried itself. It thus seemed to sanction their mode of burial. This, perhaps, it was which first taught them where and how to bury—in the dry desert, in excavated galleries. It was in this way the young world learnt. What they thought was what they had seen.

It had taken down with it into its grave its world-symbol, full of the germs of life. These germs in time became living things. There in their subterranean region they lived out their appointed time, and each became—ah! what did it become? A chrysalis. And what in the world is a chrysalis, but a swathed-up mummy? And so, having their eyes open to receive the lessons of Nature, and being then in the teachable stage of mind, for thought was in the embryonic and growing condition; not yet ossified into rigid forms when it rejects, and denounces everything that does not support the existing settled system; they acted on the hint and made their own dead, who had passed through the first stage of their lives, into chrysalises—that is, into mummies.

Life was not extinct in the chrysalis—it was in abeyance. And so they believed and taught that it was with the mummy.

And then, from the swathed-up chrysalis a marvellously constructed and perfect being burst forth. What had before painfully crawled on the earth, now flew to and fro, at its will, in the air. And, besides, it was now full of divine sagacity. It had passed into another and totally different stage of being. Here was the resurrection from the mummy condition, in a totally different form, and with totally different endowments. This was the transmigration of souls. What volumes of profoundest doctrine! what revelations in this little beetle!

The reason, then, why in modern Egypt you give an Arab boy no more than a piastre or two for an antique scarab, is that when men began to observe, and think, six thousand, perhaps twice six thousand years ago, the Egyptian beetle taught the Egyptians much. There

was the reason why they loved to have the stones of their rings and seals cut into the form of this beetle. For this reason it was that they used it for amulets: there was much of the divinity in it. This was why it became a favourite object for bearing an inscription that was to commemorate a royal hunt, or a royal marriage. Probably a scarab, with an inscribed record of the event, was sent to all who had been present on the occasion. There are such now in our British Museum. It was for these reasons that the scarab with expanded wings was laid on the mummy. And I can imagine their having been used in many other ways, as New Year's gifts, as wedding presents, as mourning rings, such as were customary here a generation or two back; as tickets of admission to festivals, and funeral processions, and even as tokens of membership in sacred guilds and other associations, each bearing its appropriate inscription, containing, of course, the name of some god; for this was a sanction that was sought for everything that was done in Egypt.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EGYPTIAN BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE.

All that are in the graves shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.——ST. JOHN.

THE ancestors of the Egyptians, when they entered the valley of the Nile, did not come either empty-handed or empty-headed. They brought with them their looms and ploughs, their flocks and herds, and their seed-corn. They brought with them also their belief in an after life. We are as certain of this, whether they came in ten, or twenty thousand years ago, as we are that at a geological epoch so remote from the present time, that the organized life of the Earth has since been changed again and again, there were winds and tides, and sunshine and rain. Every branch of the Aryan family, from the Ganges to the Thames, participated in this belief; it had, therefore, existed among them at a date anterior to their dispersion. It occupied in their organized thought the position the vertebrate skeleton does in the animal organization. It was the governing idea. Everything contributed to it, or was deduced from it: either went to feed it, or grew out of it. Those races of animals which have not arrived at vertebration are the lowest forms, with the fewest specialized organs: still they appear to have

a kind of tendency or virtual capacity for it. Just so of the mental condition of some portions of our race with respect to this idea of a future life. There are some whose thought is so rudimentary that it has never yet grown into this form; but they are the lowest minds: still, even they have a kind of tendency towards it, and of capacity for it—though, indeed, several such tribes and people have died out without ever having attained to it. And so will it be with many of those who, at the present day, are in this condition. They will be swept away by those who possess the higher form of organized thought, without their ever reaching this point in the progress of moral and intellectual being.

If the question be asked—Why we do ourselves believe in a future life? The answer is—That we believe in it for the same reason that Homer, and Virgil, Cheops, and Darius, Porus, Arminius, and Galgacus believed in it—that is to say, because our remote, but common ancestors, had passed out of the state in which thought is chaos, and had reached the state in which thought has begun to organize itself; and because the vertebral column of the form in which it had with them begun to organize itself was belief in a future state. None of all of us, whether dwellers on the banks of the Ganges, the Thames, or the Nile, could any more get rid of, or dispense with, or act independently of that formative column of thought, than our animal constitution could of its formative column of bone. Belief in God, in moral distinctions, in personal responsibility, in the supremacy of intelligence—that is to say, that it is intelligence which orders, and co-ordinates God, the universe, and man, would all be powerless and unmeaning, were it not for this belief in a future life. These, and

other beliefs may feed and support it; but it acts in, and through them, and gives them their chief value. It puts man in permanent relation with God, and the universe. Hitherto nothing else has done this. Without it these other beliefs would have been mere chaotic elements of thought.

We must see this in order that we may understand the life, the mind, and even the arts of the ancient Egyptians. Nothing about them is intelligible if their belief in a future life is lost sight of; for this it was that made them what they were, and enabled them to do what they did. The connexion with it of their greatest achievement is close and evident. As an instrument of human progress, language, of course, takes precedence of everything. Nothing would be possible without it. But, if man had stopped short at the acquisition of language not much would have been gained. Something more was needed, and that something was the art of writing, which is that extension of the uses of language, without which no serviceable amount of knowledge could have been attained or retained. Without this little could have been done. With it everything became possible. The further we advance by its aid, the longer and the broader, and the more glorious are the vistas that open before us. Now, of this we are certain that the ancient Egyptians discovered this art. The idea of the possibility of speaking words to the mind through the eye, and rendering thought fixed, and permanent, and portable, and transmissible from generation to generation, of committing it, not to the air, but to stone, or, still better, to paper, first occurred to the Egyptians. And they were the first to give effect to the idea in their hieroglyphic form of writing, out of which afterwards grew the hieratic and demotic forms.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this discovery. It contained in its single self the possibility of the whole of science, art, law, religion, history, beyond their merest rudiments which were all that would have been attainable without it. It contained all this as completely as the acorn contains the oak. Where, and what would any and every one of them now be were it not for that discovery? Indeed, what does it not contain? There are now 31,000,000 souls within the United Kingdom, had it not been for that discovery probably there would not have been 3,000,000. Neither the readers, nor the writer of this book would have existed. None of the existing population of Europe would have seen the light. Other combinations would have taken place. Europe would be sparsely tenanted by tribes of rude barbarians—only a little less rude in its favoured southern clime. The New World would be still unknown. On the day some Egyptian priest, perhaps at This, thought out a scheme for representing words and sounds by signs, Christianity, the British Constitution, and the steam-engine became possible. With respect to so great, so all-important a discovery, one on which the destinies of the human race so entirely depended, every particular of its history must be deeply interesting. Of one particular, however, at all events, we are certain: we know where it had its birth. And this is what has made so many in all times desire to visit Egypt. It was that they wished to see the land of those who had conferred this much-containing gift upon mankind—not all of them seeing this distinctly, yet having a kind of intuition that the wisdom of the Egyptians was a mighty wisdom to which civilization, through this discovery, owed itself.

We know, too, another particular, and that is, that

this discovery was first used for sacred and religious purposes; and it must have been invented for the purposes for which it was first used. We can imagine what prompted the thought that issued in the discovery. We can trace out what it was that set the discovering mind at work. It must have been some idea in Egypt that was more active, and so more productive than ideas that were stirring in men's minds elsewhere. It must have been some need in Egypt that spurred men on more than the need felt elsewhere. And this idea could only have been that of the future life; and this need that which arose out of this idea, the need of recording the laws it prompted, and the ritual which grew out of it; and of aiding, embellishing, and advancing in their general laws, their religious observances, their arts, and what afterwards became their science and their history, the whole life of the people which was struggling to rise into higher conditions, more worthy of their great idea.

But we must give some account of what the Egyptian doctrine of the future life actually was. Fortunately, in the Book of the Dead, we have for its historical reconstruction the identical materials the old Egyptians had for its construction in his own moral being. This Book of the Dead was one of their Sacred Scriptures. Its contents are very various and comprehensive, and are quite sufficient to give us a distinct idea of what we here want. It is divided into 165 sections. Its object is to supply the man now in the mummy stage of existence with all the instructions he will require in his passage to, and into the future world. It contains the primæval hymns that were to be sung, and the prayers that were to be offered, as the mummy was lowered into the pit of the catacomb or grave; and the invocations that were to be used

over the mummy, the various amulets appended to it, and the bandages in which it was swathed. These bandages had great mystical importance. Some of them have been unrolled to the length of 1,000 yards; and we are told that there is no form of bandage known to modern surgery of which instances may not be found on the mummies.

What has now been mentioned forms, as it were, the introductory part of the book. The rest is devoted to what is to be done by the mummy himself on his passage to, and entrance into the unseen world. It taught him what he was to say and do during the days of trying words, and on the occasion of the great and terrible final judgment. An image of the rendering of this awful account had already been presented to the eyes of the surviving friends and neighbours at the funeral. It was a scene in which the mummy had often taken part himself in the days of his own earthly trial. The corpse, on its way to the grave, had to pass the sacred lake of the nome or department. When it had reached the shore there was a pause in the progress of the procession, and forty-two judges or jurymen stood forward to hear any accusations that any one was at liberty to bring forward against the deceased. If any accusation could be substantiated to the satisfaction of the judges, whether the deceased were the Pharaoh who had sat on the throne, or a poor peasant or artizan, the terrible sentence, to an Egyptian beyond measure terrible, was passed upon him, that his mummy was to be excluded from burial. The awful consequence of this was 3,000 years of wandering in darkness and in animal forms.

But, supposing that the mummy had passed this earthly ordeal, he was then committed to his earthly

resting-place; and this Book of the Dead, either the whole, or what was deemed the most essential part of it, was placed on, or in the mummy case: sometimes it was inscribed on the sarcophagus. These were the instructions which were to guide him on the long dread course upon which he was about to enter. He will have to appear in the hall of two-fold Divine Justice—the justice, that is, which rewards as well as punishes. Osiris, the judge of the dead, will look on, as president of the court. He will wear the emblem of truth and the tablet breast-plate, containing the figure of Divine Justice. The scales of Divine Justice will be produced. The heart of the mummy will be placed in one scale, and the figure of Divine Justice in the other. The mummy will stand by the scale in which his heart is being weighed. Anubis will watch the opposite scale. Thoth, who had been the revealer to man of the divine words, of which the Sacred Books of Egypt were transcripts, will be present to record the sentence.

The book contains, for the use of the mummy, the forty-two denials of sin he will have to make in the presence of this awful court, while his heart is in the balance, and the forty-two avenging demons, all ape-faced, symbolizing man in the extremity of degradation, with reason perverted and without conscience, and each with the pitiless knife in his raised hand, will be standing by ready to claim him, or some part of him, if the balance indicates that the denial is false. These forty-two denials have reference to the ordinary duties of human life, such as all civilized people have understood them; though, of course, as might have been expected, the forms of some of these duties are Egyptian, as, for instance, that of using the waters of

the irrigation fairly, and without prejudice to the rights of others: an application to the circumstances of Egypt, of the universally received ideas of fairness and justice which the working of human society must everywhere give birth to. The denials also include, as again we might be sure they would, the mummy's observance of Egyptian ceremonial law.

There is still a great deal more in the book. The mummy will have to pass through many difficult passages before he can attain the Empyrean gate, through which those who have been found true in the balance, for that is the meaning of the Egyptian word for the justified, are at last admitted to the realms of pure and everlasting light. This gate is the gate of the sun, and this light is the presence of the sun-god. There will be many adversaries that will be lying-in-wait for him, seeking to fasten charges of one kind or another upon him, and to destroy him. The book tells him how he is to comport himself, and what he is to do as each of these occasions arise. There are certain halls, for instance, through which he will have to pass. These halls he will find inhabited by demons, but they are a necessary part of the great journey. And the entrance to them he will find barred and guarded by demon door-keepers. Here mystical names and words must be used, which alone will enable the mummy to get by these demon door-keepers, and through these demon-inhabited halls. These names and words of power he will find in the book. We here have traces of the thought of primitive times, when men regarded with wonder, deepening into awe, the supposed mysterious efficacy of articulate sound.

One demon, in particular, will endeavour to secure the mummy's head. In some hellish place a net will

be spread to entangle him. He will have to journey through regions of thick darkness and to confront the fury of the Great Dragon. He will have to go through places where he may incur pollution; through others where he may become subject to corruption. He will have to submit to a fiery ordeal. He will have to obtain the air that is untainted, the water that is of heaven, and the bread of Ra and Seb. The book will give him all the needful instructions on these, and on all other matters where he will require guidance.

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* enables us to understand this Book of the Dead. The aim of both is the same. Each presents a picture of the hindrances and difficulties, both from within and from without, and of the requirements and aids of the soul in its struggle to attain to the higher life. The Egyptian doctrine places the scene in the passage from this life to the next. The Elstow tinker places it, allegorically, in this life. But this is a difference that is immaterial. The ideas of both are fundamentally the same. The consciousness to which they both appeal is the same. The old Egyptian of 5,000 or 6,000 years ago received the teaching of his book on precisely the same grounds as we ourselves at this day receive the teaching of the Pilgrim. With how much additional authority does this discovery invest these ideas! The mind must be more or less than human that arrays itself against what has, so overwhelmingly, approved itself *semper, ubique, et omnibus.*

The antiquity of the book is very great. Portions of it are found on the mummy cases of the eleventh dynasty. This shows that it was in use 4,000 years ago. But this was very far from having been the date of its first use; for even then it had become so old as to be unintelligible to royal scribes; and we find that, in

consequence, it was at that remote time the custom to give together with the sacred text its interpretation.

All collections of Egyptian antiquities contain copies of this book, or of portions of it. Several are to be seen in our British Museum. Of course this abundance of copies results from the nature of the book, and the use to which it was put. It was literally the viaticum, the itinerary, the guide and hand-book, the route and instructions for the mummy to and through that world from which no traveller returns. Each of its sections is accompanied by a rubric, and generally illustrated by a vignette, directing and showing the mummy how the section is to be used.

I know nothing more instructive and touching in human history than one of these old Egyptian Books of the Dead, with its doctrine, its invocations, its hymns, its prayers, its instructions, its rubrics, its illustrations. All its images are of the earth earthy. How could it be otherwise? The soul that has kept all the commandments, that has been tried in the balance and not found wanting, that has fought the good fight to final triumph through all the dangers and temptation and pollutions that beset its path, reaches at last only a purer ether and eternal light.

It is easy to endeavour to dismiss all this with cold indifference, or with a cheap sneer. But those who placed this book by the side of a departed relative had hearts that were still turned towards those they could never any more behold in the flesh. All their care and thought were not for themselves. And, too, they believed in right and truth, in justice and goodness. And because they believed in them, they believed also in a world and in a life of which those principles would be the law.

CHAPTER XXV.

WHY THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IGNORE THE FUTURE LIFE.

Veritas filia temporis.——*Latin Saying.*

It is impossible to become familiar with the monumental and other evidences of the position the idea of a future life held in the religious system, and in the minds and lives of the Egyptians, without finding one's self again and again occupied with the inquiry—Why the Mosaic Dispensation rejected it? To pass over a matter of this kind is to reject it. If a code makes no reference whatever to the idea of inheritance, but provides for the appropriation and distribution of the property of deceased persons in such a manner that the idea of inheritance does not at all enter into the arrangement, as, for instance, appropriating it all to the State, or distributing it all among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, it is clear that the author of the code rejected the ordinary and natural ideas of inheritance. In this way the Mosaic dispensation rejects the idea of a future life, an idea which was the backbone of organised thought in Egypt and among all Aryan people. It does not reject it in the sense of saying that it is false, but in the sense of omitting it as unsuitable for the purposes it has in view. It adjourns the

consideration of it to another day, and to other conjunctures of circumstances.

But this is only a part of the wonder. Solomon, one of whose wives was an Egyptian princess, and who possessed so inquiring a mind that it is absolutely impossible he could have been unacquainted with the idea, nowhere in his ethical, philosophical, religious, poetical, or practical writings, thinks it worth even a passing reference. On the contrary, like his father David, he emphatically speaks of death as the end. The former had asked whether God shows His wonders among the dead? Or whether the dead shall rise up again and praise Him? Shall His loving kindness be showed in the grave, or His righteousness in the land where all things are forgotten? The wisdom of the latter promises length of these subsolar days only.

Our surprise, already great, is carried to a still higher point on discovering that, for the six centuries which followed the time of Solomon, the Hebrew prophets, men of the profoundest moral insight, and whose very business it was to put before their countrymen's minds every motive which could have power to induce them to eschew evil and do good, pass over in their teaching just as Moses, David, and Solomon had done before them, this paramountly influential, and to us morally vital idea.

If one had been called upon to give an *à priori* opinion on the subject, it would have seemed, I think, utterly impossible that such an omission could have been made at the beginning, considering the nature of the work that had to be done; or, if for some unusual but decisive reason it had been made at first, that it could have been maintained throughout. We must remember that the word throughout here applies to the

whole course of a national literature, embracing history, legislation, philosophy, poetry, morals, and, above all, religion through a range of a thousand years. The idea was all that time all about the people, and those who contributed to their literature, in Persia, in Egypt, and in Asia Minor. In Europe every tribe of barbarians and of semi-barbarians, and every civilized people possessed it. It was the source of their respective religions. It made them all what they were. But in this all-embracing, vigorous, and long-sustained literature of the Hebrews it has no place. It might, for some special reason, have been excluded at one epoch, but why through all? It might, for some special reasons, have been ill-adapted to some departments of Hebrew thought, but why to all? And the manner is as singular as the fact of the rejection. It is simply passed over in silence. No reference is made to it. It is not discussed. It is not denounced. It is not ridiculed. It is not insisted on, that is all.

Here, then, is an historical problem than which few can be more curious and interesting. We may not yet be in a position to answer it completely, but it is evident that the first step towards doing this is to set down all the reasons that appear to us possible, and to weigh each with reference to the mind and the circumstances of the times. We may not be able to divine all the reasons, or, indeed, the right one, but still this is the course that must be pursued.

The right answer will depend to a considerable extent on dates and ethnological facts. We shall have to ascertain the date of the Exodus, and who the Hebrews were, or, to be more precise, who the Israelites were. With respect, then, to the date of the Exodus, we shall, if we confine ourselves to the Hebrew

accounts, find the inquiry beset with great difficulties. It is evident from their character that those accounts were intended primarily for religious, and not for historical purposes. Had history been their object, we should have had some Egyptian names. The name, however, of the Pharaoh under whom the Exodus took place is not given, nor the name of the Pharaoh whose minister Joseph was, nor that of the Pharaoh who reigned when Abraham came down into Egypt, nor, indeed, of one of the kings who reigned during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. Nothing is told us of the internal condition of the country with the single exception of the success of Joseph's plan for enabling Pharaoh, in a time of famine, to become the actual proprietor of the whole of the land of Egypt, save what was held by the priests; nor is anything told us of its external history, notwithstanding that that was its most eventful and important period. For Egypt happened just at that particular time to be in the very zenith of its power, the wonder, the terror, and the glory of the Eastern world. It was the period which had seen the conclusion of the long struggle between the Egyptians and their Semitic invaders, a struggle in which the latter, having at first been victorious, had overthrown the native dynasty, got complete possession of the country, and ruled it for some centuries, but had in the end been expelled. This struggle had recently terminated when the connexion of the Israelites with Egypt commenced, and was followed by a period of unexampled greatness and prosperity. To it belong the reigns of Sethos, whose minister Joseph was, and of Rameses II., the son of Sethos, and the oppressor of the children of Israel. These two greatest of Egyptian conquerors, both of

them overran Syria and the neighbouring countries, carrying their devastations into Persia and Asia Minor. Sethos had been a great builder, but Rameses was the greatest builder the world has ever seen. All the chief structures at Karnak, Thebes, Abydos, and in a multitude of other places in Egypt, and even in Nubia were his work. What he had done in this way was so far in advance of all that had ever been done before, that it must have been the talk of all that part of the world. Of all these great names and great events, no mention whatever is made in the Hebrew Scriptures, although, during the sojourn, Egypt was actually the scene of the sacred history. The omission is very similar to that which is the subject of this chapter, and almost as difficult to explain. If, then, we were confined to the Jewish accounts, it would be impossible for us to assign to the date of the Exodus its place in the history of Egypt. There is, however, one name occurring incidentally in the account of the oppression, which, in conjunction with monumental evidence, enables us to fix precisely the date of the Exodus—so precisely as that we are sure that it took place in the reign of Menophthah, or Menophres, the son of the great Rameses, and the grandson of Sethos. I shall reserve the demonstration of this till I have occasion to mention the Canal of Rameses.

I said that the date of the Exodus has an important bearing on the inquiry of why the doctrine of a future life was excluded from the Mosaic Dispensation: it has this importance, because it enables us to know what had been going on in that part of the world for some time immediately preceding the promulgation of the Mosaic Dispensation. Knowing the date, we know that reciprocal barbarities, such as this age can fortu-

nately form but a feeble conception of, had for centuries been the order of the day between the Egyptians and the Semites. At last the Egyptians had got completely the upper hand, and had driven out the main body of the Semites from their country, had devastated in a most sweeping, and ruthless manner, neighbouring countries, and most frequently and most completely those parts of Syria which soon afterwards fell into the hands of the Israelites. If we can form but a feeble conception of the barbarities of those times, we can perhaps form only a still less adequate conception of that which prompted them—the gluttonous hatred that animated these two races towards each other. No amount of blood, no form of cruelty on any scale, could satiate it. There is nothing in the practices, the history, the religion, of the modern world which enables us to understand their feelings. We see some slight indications of it in the Hebrew Scriptures, but these must be translated, not in accordance with our ideas, but with the ideas of those times. Every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians. The Hebrews took the opposite view, and regarded the first tiller of the ground as the first murderer. The Hebrews might not eat with the Egyptians, for that was an abomination to them.

It is the date which enables us in some measure to understand the feelings that underlie these statements.

The next question is, who were the Israelites? We are now regarding the question singly from the historical point of view, just as we should the question of who were the Lydians, the Etruscans, the Dorians, or any other people of antiquity. There is no question but that they were substantially a Semitic people, mainly of the same race, and of the same dispositions

and capacities as the other branches of the Semitic stock, as for instance, the Phœnicians, and the Moabites of the old, and the Arabs of the modern world. It is clear, however, that they were not of unmixed Semitic blood. Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, and was therefore a Chaldean, whatever that appellative stood for at that time. The Hebrew Scriptures describe him as a Syrian. He can, therefore, hardly be regarded as of Semitic descent. Furthermore, when the people left Egypt they must have had in their veins a large infusion of Egyptian, that is old Aryan blood, somewhat mixed with Ethiopian. This must have been the case, because during their sojourn in Egypt there had been no disinclination among them to intermarry with Egyptians. Joseph had had for his wife a high caste Egyptian woman, Amenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On; and the wife of Moses is called a Cushite, or Ethiopian woman. Besides this, we are told that when the people—their blood being already mixed in this way with that of the Aryan Egyptians—went up out of Egypt, there went out with them a mixed multitude, which can only mean Egyptians, who cast in their lot with them, or a remnant of the Hyksos, who had stayed behind at the time of the expulsion of the main body, or the descendants of the Asiatic captives of Sethos and Rameses, and their predecessors. I need not go to the Egyptian accounts. The above facts will be sufficient for our present purpose. They enable us historically to understand the people. They were of mixed descent, of very composite blood. The preponderant element was Semitic, but that had been enriched by large additions of better blood; still, however, not to such an extent as to efface, or even to any decisive degree alter the

Semitic characteristics. The mental capacity and vigour, the apprehensiveness and receptiveness of the people had been increased, but still they were in the main Semitic; in language, in sentiment, in cast and direction of thought.

At that particular juncture, then, in the history of that part of the world to which our attention has just been recalled, Moses had to deal with the material we are examining. Still limiting our inquiry to historical objects, historically investigated, what he had to do at that time was to make these mixed and unpromising materials into a people; as hard a task as was ever undertaken, the very idea of which has no place in the minds of us moderns. He was thoroughly aware of the difficulty of his task. Had it ever been heard before, and, after some thousands of years, we may add, has it ever been heard since, of a nation taken out of another nation, and, according even to the Hebrew accounts, the object of which is not historical, taken chiefly from the servile class of another nation, and yet welded into a true people, with the strongest, the most enduring, and the most distinctive characteristics? What material was ever more unlikely? And yet was ever success more complete? A scion, not a vigorous and healthy off-set, but a bruised sport, was so planted, and surrounded with such influences, as that it took good root, grew vigorously, sent forth strong and spreading branches; and bore, and even still bears its own peculiar fruit. Nowhere in Europe in these days, except it may be to some extent in northern Germany, is any attempt made to fashion in this way the mind, and sentiments, and instincts of a people, which, and not the amount of population, or of wealth, is what truly constitutes a people.

Why, then, did Moses, in this great attempt, omit entirely the one thought we consider the most potent of all? His object was to make a people. It was not primarily to reveal a religion. We come to this conclusion both from an observation of the facts, and from an application of the principle that religion is for man, and not man for religion. But a nation, especially such a nation as he contemplated, is made only by moral and intellectual means. The revelation, therefore, of a religion was not at all an accident, or in any sense something which might be, according to circumstances, included or excluded from his plan. It was a necessity—the one means for the one object. These materials could not have been made into a people without a religion. The question, then, before him was not simply to make a religion, but to make the mass of living integers before him into a nation by a religion. The religious part of the question, therefore, was limited to the consideration of what form of religion would best effect this?

One indispensable requisite was that it must be a religion that would never take them back in thought and heart to Egypt. With Egypt he must break utterly and for ever. This was a most difficult task. The thoughts of the people went back to the flesh-pots of Egypt. They did remember the leeks, and the onions, and the cucumber, and the melons they had ate in Egypt; but, more than all this, they remembered the palpable and intelligible religion, the magnificent and touching ceremonies and processions, the awe-inspiring temples—all that had satisfied at once the eye, the heart, and the thought in Egypt. They even recurred to the worship of the bull Mnevis, the divinity of Heliopolis—Joseph's On—at the very foot

of Sinai. Everything, therefore, that could recall Egypt and its religion, everything that might present a point of contact between the thoughts, the worship, the lives of the new people and of their old masters, was to be studiously avoided. The dividing lines must everywhere be deep and sharp—there must be no bridges from one to the other. So it must be. But the doctrine of the future life was the very kernel—the heart itself—of the religion of Egypt. There was, therefore, no choice; this must be utterly abandoned and excluded: to admit it would be to admit Osiris, the judge of the departed souls, his assessors, and his array of avengers, and the whole apparatus of the lower world. As to Heaven, too, or the place of the blessed, the Egyptians had already appropriated the sun, which, in that material age, must have appeared as the best—indeed, the only suitable—*locus in quo*. That was already peopled with Egyptians; and it could, therefore, be no heaven for the Hebrews—for Semites. If they were to eventually inhabit the same heaven, sympathy for the Egyptians, and for their ideas, would be kept alive; and, if so, then the idea of forming a peculiar people, separate and distinct from all other people, must be abandoned. It would be impossible to carry it out.

This view of the reason for the omission of the great doctrine has in it, I think, some truth, though it is not the whole truth. Moses may have seen clearly that it would have been impossible to carry out his paramount object if this doctrine was allowed a place in his system; but this view falls short of what is required. It does not account for the whole of the fact. It does not account, for instance, for the doctrine not having been admitted into the system in after times—and no

explanation can be complete or satisfactory which does not include that. We know, also, that Moses did not reject absolutely everything that was Egyptian. He retained, for instance, circumcision, and the Egyptian division of the lunar month into four weeks of seven days each, etc.

Another conceivable supposition is that, if the doctrine of a future life had been admitted, it was foreseen that the priestly caste, instead of remaining the ministers and servants of the congregation, would have become its masters as in Egypt; and that the law would then have been wrested into an instrument for giving them undue power and domination. It would have given them the lever for moving this world at their pleasure, and for their own behoof; and so its primary object, which was a moral one, would have become only secondary. This supposition, when applied to those early times, is not, as the history of Egypt shows, altogether an anachronism; and it is evident that dangers of this kind were foreseen and, to some extent, provided against. We see an indication of this in the intentional absence, during the earlier periods of the history of the nation, of monarchical institutions, which, in those times, were, externally and politically, almost necessary and, consequently, almost universal in the outside world. We trace, also, this thought in the comment made on their adoption, when it had become impossible any longer to dispense with them; but of this supposition, also, we must say that it does not explain the whole of the phenomenon—for there were periods when, notwithstanding the amount of truth and force contained in this supposed reason, the great doctrine might have been, but was not introduced.

Or was it because the Hebrews were too unimaginative a people to realize in thought the conception of a future life?—and, therefore, was this one among other instances of the progressiveness of the revelation, which had spoken in one mode to the fathers, and which spoke afterwards—of course, within certain intelligible limitations—in a diverse manner to their descendants? This progressiveness every one is aware of; but I do not think that the Hebrew was quite so unimaginative as the suggestion implies. The Semitic race are imaginative in their way. They are, and were, a gross race, and their imagination was correspondingly gross; but we can hardly suppose that the Hebrew of old would have been less capable of imagining a future paradise than the modern Arab; though, of course, it would have assumed, like his, very much of an earthly character—and that earthly character would not have been of the highest and most refined kind. Feasting, for instance, would have been an ingredient in the future bliss of a healthy and hungry people, who, in this world, had very little to eat. And here it would be interesting to ascertain what, on this subject, was the belief of the Phœnicians, Canaanites, Moabites, and ancient Arabians. It is to the point, also, to remember that the Hebrew system had a paradise. It was, however, one which came at the beginning and not at the end of all things. It was, also, an earthly paradise. In this I see an implied contradiction of the Egyptian doctrine. I believe that there are other similarly-implied contradictions without any direct references; and that there are such points of hidden protest and of contrast is of importance. For instance: I am disposed to think that the comment on the Ten Com-

mandments—"these words . . and no more"—is an implied contradiction of the divine authority of the Forty-two Commandments, with reference to which the Egyptian believed that he should be tried at the Day of Judgment—an article of Egyptian faith with which Moses and the people, who were listening to him, must have been quite familiar, and which could hardly, at that moment, have been absent from their minds. But as to the supposition before us, I think—to whatever extent we may be able to allow it to be true in itself—we shall still be unable to accept it as a sufficient cause for the phenomenon we are now investigating.

In turning, then, every side of the question to the light, I can see one more possible solution of the difficulty. It occurred to me at Jerusalem. I there said to myself, "Let us endeavour to look at it in the light in which it appears to have presented itself to the Divine Master. He 'brought life and immortality to light' to his countrymen, and, in the highest sense, to us. He must, while engaged in this work, have seen clearly the very difficulty that is now before us. It was, in fact, the difficulty that stood up before Him on all occasions of His teaching. How, then, did He meet it—how did He deal with it?"

We saw that the first step towards finding our way to the true answer to the question—Why Moses ignored the future life? was to ascertain precisely what was the work he had to do, and what were the conditions under which he had to do it. In order to reach a right understanding of those matters, it was necessary to know the date at which his work was done. Without that we should have been quite unable to reconstruct in our minds the conditions under which he had to work, the chief of which was the nature and com-

position of the human materials out of which he had to form a people, which was his great task. The same process must now be repeated; we must now make out what the Light of the world had now to accomplish, and what were the obstacles in the way of His accomplishing it.

Hitherto we have been endeavouring to make out what had to be done at the first establishment of and throughout the Old Dispensation; and we have been reviewing some of the reasons which may be imagined and alleged for the omission in that Dispensation of one particular doctrine we might have expected to find in it. This we have done with a constant reference to the times, circumstances, and conditions of the work. We have, however, seen that not one of those reasons is sufficient and admissible. What, therefore, we are endeavouring to get sight of is still in obscurity. The answer sought has not yet been found. What we now propose to do, still for the purpose of obtaining this answer, is to recall what He taught, and what arguments He used, "Who brought life and immortality to light;" and how in doing this He dealt with what Moses had taught, and with what he had not taught; and how He dealt with the thoughts that were in the minds of the people He was addressing.

Fifteen hundred years had elapsed since Moses's day. What we have to set before our minds now is the conditions under which the new work had to be done. It was new, because it cancelled or supplemented what was old. It did both. How did it do it? Let us be sure that we understand the antecedent times and events. The most cursory review of the history of those fifteen centuries shows to us the original necessity of a law from God. A law from man would at that time have been useless. There was no difficulty

about a law from God. In the spontaneous apprehensions of the people at that time, God was the source of all law directly and immediately as distinctly as He is to our apprehensions the source of all law mediately and ultimately. We must make out the effect of this difference. Theirs was the case in which the intervention of God is not confined to principles, it being left to human legislators to apply those principles; but it was the case in which He gives, necessarily, the letter of the statute. Of this it is the natural and logical sequence, that He should be the administrator and executor of His own law, even of what we call civil and criminal law. And, again, there was nothing in the mind of the people that could dispose them to reject this conclusion after they had accepted the premises. But, furthermore, it is evident that law, civil and criminal, must be executed here in this life. The more instantaneously punishment overtakes the offender the better: the more completely, then, will the very object of the law be carried out, that which is the whole of its *raison d'être.* It always has been so all over the world. To be effective, to answer its purpose, to do what it aims at doing, its action must be speedy, certain, visible. Punishment has two political objects, to rid society of those who disturb it, and to strike terror into, and so deter, those who might be disposed to disturb it. The object of law, therefore, cannot be attained without present, immediate punishment. The more immediate the better. It has been so everywhere and always.

We can see, then, that the idea of a system of future rewards and punishments was not only not needed under the Mosaic code, but would have very much weakened, and even have overthrown it. It was precisely as a matter of fact, and history, the very

solvent that disintegrated and destroyed it. As it was a system of statute law, what was needed was that the offender should be punished here at once. No such laws that ever were heard of could exist if they relegated the punishment of the offender to a future life. As God was the Legislator, so must He be the Executor of His own law. This was intelligible and logical. God's arm was, therefore, ever bared and visible. Every offence had its penalty, whether the offence of an individual or of the nation; and that penalty was visibly exacted at the time, that is to say, in this life. The idea of future rewards and punishments would have been antagonistic to this. It would have been an element of confusion and weakness. There was no place for it. It was practically and logically excluded. The one thing that was paramount and indispensable was attended to. What would have acted injuriously on that imperious necessity was set aside.

All this is clear abstractedly. And it all comes out with perfect clearness in the concrete history. During the fifteen hundred years the law is in force we have not one syllable about a doctrine of the future life. It was so because it was absolutely logical and natural that it should be so. Nothing else could account for it. It was just what ought to have been the case, and nothing else could have been the case. It was excluded not so much designedly as spontaneously. It could find no place in the teaching of the Prophets, because it would have been destructive of the system they taught. It could not, therefore, have occurred to them to teach it.

But at last the time has come for teaching it. What, therefore, we now have to do is to mark the way in which the law was dealt with, in order that it might be taught. We can see no way in which this

could have been done except by terminating that part of the old system which made the letter of the statute of divine institution, and which therefore required that God should execute His own law Himself, here, in this life. Here are two ideas, distinct, but necessarily connected, and they must be annulled, both of them. Both the legislation, and the enforcement of it, must be transferred from God to the State. Indeed the State —it had been Greek, and now it was Roman—had already got it completely into its own hands. It could never again be got out of those hands; and it was, in itself, far better that it should remain in them. Of course it could not have been so with God's people of old time. But for the future it could not, and it ought not to, be otherwise. Henceforth God would be the source, in men's hearts, only of the principles of right. Men must apply for themselves those principles to their varying circumstances and needs, whether of political legislation or of personal conduct. They must also themselves enforce the observance of these applications of the principles. But of course though this might answer roughly the purposes of human societies, it would be altogether imperfect and inadequate as a machinery for fairly and completely rewarding and punishing individuals, or for making men good, or for keeping the heart pure, and gentle, and loving. All this must still rest with God. Man could have little to do with these matters in his fellow man. This world could be no theatre for perfectly adjusted compensations and retributions. The balance for weighing the things that are seen cannot be exactly trimmed here. How then could there be even any pretence of weighing the more important things that cannot be seen? This necessitated a future life.

This, it will be observed is the logical argument for a future life. It is the argument that arises in the bosom of social development. It is not precisely the same argument as that which first implanted the idea in the mind of the Aryan. That was, in some measure, founded on a sentiment which arose from the bosom of Nature.

The argumentative aims, and position of the Divine Master will not be understood unless what has just been before us be attended to. He taught that His kingdom was not of this world. It could not have been so taught by them of old time. He taught that men must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Formerly it could only be taught that God was all in all. When these statements are interpreted in accordance with the general tenor of His teaching, and of that of His apostles, we see that they involve the entire abandonment to the civil power of the whole domain of legislation, and of the entire and unqualified right of maintaining legislation; of course without at all exempting legislators, or magistrates, from obedience in the exercise of their legislative or executive functions, to the principles of right, and from accountability to God. The old civil and criminal codes having thus in their letter been abrogated, necessarily the ceremonial code fell with them. Though indeed these are distinctions which were hardly recognized in early times. The idea then of law being imposed, enforced, and maintained by God in this life was thus swept away. But this did not affect the idea of law itself. Man did not cease to be accountable, and accountable to God. The old form of the law was swept away, but a higher and better form of it substituted for what had been abolished. The thing

intended could now be fulfilled more completely than before. An expansion and elasticity were given to it, which might enable it to become all that could be imagined of the completest development of the moral law. It was exalted, perfected, and made of universal application. What was abolished was the old letter; the old heaven-sent, heaven-administered, heaven-executed code. Life and immortality could not be preached, or understood if it were maintained. What was not abolished, but to which a freer, and more enlarged course was given, was the living and life-giving Spirit. Emancipate that, and then life and immortality would become distinctly visible. True, man would not have to give an account here, in this life, to God, receiving his punishment or reward in this life very imperfectly; and this would necessitate his having to give an account in the world to come, in an after life, when not a few overt acts which are all that can be attended to in this world, and those few only very inadequately either rewarded or punished; but when even every word and every thought, as well as deed, could be called into judgment; when everything could be fully revealed and known; and exact recompense and retribution assigned.

In this way were things revealed which had been kept secret—from the chosen people—from the foundation of the world. In this way would every scribe, who was fully instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bring forth out of his treasures things new as well as old. This was the connection and the opposition of the two Dispensations. Divine wisdom was justified in both.

We have now before us the very pith and marrow of His teaching. It is not in this world that God's

assize is held. It was not because those Galilæans, whose blood Herod had mingled with their sacrifices, had been greater sinners than other Galilæans that they had suffered those things; nor had those eighteen, on whom the Tower of Siloam had fallen, been sinners above other men that dwelt in Jerusalem. Then follows the Parable of the Unfruitful Fig-tree, which, instead of being destroyed, was spared again and again. God's arm is not now ever bare and visible to execute judgment on the evil-doer. The Parable of the Wheat and the Tares is to the same purpose, only more explicitly. What! does not God punish now as of old? Is the Almighty's arm shortened? Can he allow the wicked to prosper in the earth? The answer is the end—the day of account and settlement is not now. For the present God does allow the tares to grow together with the wheat. There was more in this than met the ear. Let him whose ears have understanding hear it. For them it had an inner, an historical, and, in the religious order, both a destructive and a reconstructive meaning: and so we might go on with other forms of the great lesson. The affliction the poor blind man laboured under was not a judgment—neither he nor his parents had sinned. This is not the life for judgment. And so does God make his rain to fall on the land of the just and of the unjust, and his sun to shine on the good and on the bad indifferently. It had not so been taught by them of old time, nor could it have been. It was directly subversive of—and, as a matter of historical fact, did subvert—the old doctrine, for the sanction of that law was its immediate execution here in this world. Then God could only make his rain to fall and his sun to shine on the land of the just, and must

withhold them from the land of the unjust. It could be maintained by no other teaching; but now that the execution of the law was removed to a future world, a foundation was thereby laid for the establishment of the great doctrine, and together with it for its corollary of time and motive for repentance being the object of all this forbearance, and of this even-handed goodness.

So, also, was it with the teaching of St. Paul—his cardinal doctrine was that of the Resurrection.

And now, perhaps, we have found the answer to the question which stands at the head of this chapter. What He who taught as never man had taught cleared away, He could have had but one reason for clearing away. That one reason was that it had obstructed, and was obstructing, and would always obstruct, men's view of the doctrine of a future life. What that was I need not repeat. I will only add that that necessity of the Mosaic Dispensation I have lately been pointing out appears to be a sufficient reason, and the only sufficient reason I can imagine, for the wonderful fact that Moses, and all the prophets from Moses to Christ, ignored this great doctrine.

Whether this is in comformity with popular teaching is a question that need not be entertained at all, because the higher question of whether it is historically true, or simply whether it is true, embraces all that need be considered.

There is nothing in this argument that militates against the idea that God has so ordered the course of this world as to show on which side He is; and that He has made doing right to be good in itself and good in its general and final consequences, and doing wrong to be evil in itself and evil in its general and final consequences. In fact, as much is assumed in the argument.

But, however, if the above is a true and complete account of the matter, and I am disposed to think that it is at least true, then one of its consequences will be (though, indeed, it is a consequence in which the world will not now take much interest), that Bishop Warburton's much-bruited theory of the Divine legation of Moses—as a school-boy I rejected it, but could not then answer it—will prove to be but an Escurial in the air.

One remark more. The old Aryan sentiment, which, though a sentiment had its logic, combined with the distinctly logical argument, founded on the recognition and eternity of justice, which there is no possibility of working out on the stage of this world, where the same act carries one man to the gallows and another to the throne, and which argument social development makes palpable and intelligible, will satisfy many minds, and must have weight with every mind; for, that something, or that much can be said on the other side, is nothing, because this is a world, as all must see, in which virtue cannot be the result of compulsion, but must be the result of a right choice after deliberation between conflicting consideration. That is of its very essence. All this is obscured by those who teach precisely what Christ overthrew; and which He overthrew precisely that He might establish the belief in a future life.

I will now ask permission, at the risk of tediousness, but for the sake of distinctness, to restate the argument summarily. The object of Moses had been to form a people in the ordinary sense of the words; a people, that is to say, who would be well-ordered at home, and able to hold their own among their neighbours. For this purpose a code was the first necessity, and, indeed, it might effect all that was required. The

code he delivered was, necessarily, from God. But a code requires that its violations should be punished visibly and at once. This, therefore, implied God's punishing in this world and in this life. There would have been irrelevancy and incompatibility to the paramount objects of the code, in the introduction of the idea of future rewards and punishments. It is not so with codes that do not come from God, as, for instance, with the codes of modern Europe; nor was it so with the codes of the two great nations of classical antiquity.

Christ's object was not to form a people in the ordinary sense of words, that is, to make a nation, but to form a peculiar people that would belong to all nations. His kingdom was not to be as the separate kingdoms of the world, but an universal kingdom constructed out of all the kingdoms of the world. It would differ from the ordinary kingdoms of the world in the purview and object of its law. It would reject everything, however necessary, for national purposes, which conflicted with the idea of the universal brotherhood of mankind; and its law, for obvious reasons, would not be a written law. It would not require that its members should pay taxes, though it would require that they should tax themselves to satisfy the claims of fraternity. Nor would it require that they should fight. The working of the community could give no occasion for the use of arms. It would be composed of Jews, Greeks, Scythians, bond and free, of all people, kindreds, and languages. Nothing could bind together this unlocalized society but their morality. And the only sanction, looking at mankind generally, for the morality of an unlocalized society, would be the rewards and punishments of a future life. The principles, therefore, of an universally applicable system of

morality, binding together a people taken out of all nations, must be the law of this peculiar, unworldly, universally diffused community; and they must believe in the rewards and punishments of a future life.

But a necessary preliminary to bringing those the Saviour addressed to believe in the rewards and punishments of a future life, must be the undoing the work of Moses in a certain sense, and to a certain extent. He must teach that judgment is not here and now. This did not require that the law should be overthrown; on the contrary, it required that those principles of morality which are universal and are commonly recognized among mankind, should be made with the most searching and binding force the law of the new society; and that the sanction of this law should be changed from the present to the future life. Much that had necessarily been incorporated in the Mosaic Dispensation, because needed for its limited, national, mundane purpose, must now be held to have answered its purpose, and to be terminated as far as the new universal society was concerned. Everything that was special belonged to this head; and, *à fortiori*, everything that was exclusive, and so conflicted with the universal law, which was, above all things, a law of brotherhood. In this view the mother idea of Christianity is the substitution, as the rule of life, of the universal natural law, for the positive written municipal law of the Jews and of every other people. It has no written law of its own. It appeals to the unwritten law, that which is inscribed not on tables of stone and brass, but on the fleshly tables of the heart.

Still local mundane governments must be maintained; and this also would require a law. Law was, therefore, henceforth divided into two parts; that part

which is universal, natural, unwritten, and which God reveals to men's hearts, and for the observance of which they will hereafter be accountable to God; and that which originates in the wisdom and the folly, the knowledge and the ignorance, the necessities, the circumstances, and the interests of human legislators, and of separate, often hostile nations. For this latter men would be accountable to the state; the state would enact, and must administer and execute it. Only in cases (none such then existed, but the time might come when the kingdoms of the world would be the kingdoms of God and of Christ,) in which the state was Christian, would the principles of the municipal law not conflict with the principles of the divine universal law. But, even in cases where they were in conflict, the Christian, as human society is ordained of God, would, as a matter of conscience, even when not of right and reason, submit to it. This, however, would be understood as having its limits, for there would be cases in which we must obey God and not man. These ideas neither condemn nor commend to us, the principle of the establishment of national churches. That is a question of times and circumstances, and of expediency. We can imagine conditions under which the advantage of such an arrangement, and others under which the disadvantage would preponderate. Of course they have a closer bearing on the questions of what establishments should teach, and of how they should enforce their teaching.

As to the law for which a man would be accountable to God, that would be taught him by God. The knowledge of it would result from the workings of God's Spirit within his heart. That Spirit would come to all from God, as it had done of old times to prophets

and holy men. It was also in the words of Christ whom God had sent. The source then of law and of illumination would continue to be the same under the Christian Dispensation as it had been under the Mosaic. The difference would be in its universality, and in what was taught by it. The latter would amount to the difference between the teaching of Christ and of Moses.

The Mosaic Dispensation promulgated municipal law which required immediate rewards and punishments; and this, under the circumstances, excluded the doctrine of a future life. The Christian dispensation promulgated natural, universal law, and so required the doctrine of a future life.

The above statement contains, I submit, the main idea of Christ's teaching, and explains its relation to the Mosaic Dispensation. No surprise need be felt at finding that the idea is not presented in the sacred documents categorically. It is enough that it is the substance of them. That we should clearly apprehend that it is so, is necessary to a right understanding of the documents, and of the religion they offer to the world, and of the history of the religion. It shows also, by an easy and sure test, what doctrines of particular churches are excrescences on the religion of Christ, and what are contradictions to it.

I have dwelt on the question of this chapter, not on account of its intrinsic interest, although that is great, but because it is a necessary part of the survey of old Egypt. The history of Egypt is the account of the influence it had on the world; and a great part of that influence had to pass through, and was received from the Jew. Some attempt, therefore, must be made

to obtain a true conception of the relations of Israel to Misraim; and the most essential part of those relations is that which is intellectual, moral, and religious. But whatever may be the value of the explanation I have been just attempting to give of the particular question that has been before us, the fact itself remains, standing forth on the long records of history as one of the most important they contain, that while the belief in future rewards and punishments was the motive power of morality and religion in Egypt, among a neighbouring people, who had in some sort been a secession from Egypt, and always continued to be more or less affected by it, morality and religion were able, under most adverse circumstances, to maintain themselves for fifteen centuries, without any formal or direct support from this belief.

Verily we are debtors to the Jew for the great lesson contained in this fact. Another religion—that one indeed which at the present day commands the greatest number of believers—does, as some of its own doctors tell us, leave open, to a considerable extent, this question of future rewards and punishments, contenting itself with teaching that virtue is its own sufficient reward; and that should it have any consequences in a life to come they cannot be evil: and the bearing of this evidence on the point before us is not unimportant. Those, however, who are in the habit of passing by unheeded what more than 300,000,000 of the human family have to say on such questions, will not think it immaterial what the Jews believed. And never had any people more unclouded faith in the eternity and ultimate mundane triumph of truth, of right, and of goodness than the Jews, although they seldom had any thought, and then only very

dimly, that they should themselves participate in or witness that triumph: they all lived and died in the faith of it, never having been supported and strengthened by the sight of it, but only by the desire to see it: the better condition, which was to make perfect theirs, having been reserved for other times. Never, however, were any people more ready to sacrifice everything, even to life itself, in proclaiming and endeavouring to carry out what they believed. It was this that prompted, and made successful, the Asmonæan insurrection against Greek domination; and which afterwards impelled them to challenge single-handed the world-Empire of Rome. Contemporary history, like much that has been written subsequently, did not understand, indeed quite misunderstood their motives, and all that was stirring within them; and so failed to do them the honour they deserved for their heroic efforts to prevent the extinction of their religion and morality. We, however, can now, at the same time, both do them justice, and acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught us that the moral sentiments have such deep root in man's nature; and can maintain so vigorous an existence by their own inherent power, without aid from other-world hopes and fears, and against all of force or seduction with which this world can assail them. This, I submit, throws light upon much that, at the present day, and amongst ourselves, stands somewhat in need of proof and distinctness.

It shows, I think, that there are in our composite mental and bodily constitution principles or laws of morality, which as they are indestructible, and are capable of maintaining themselves, and of acting vigorously under even the most adverse circumstances, must be regarded as inseparable and essential parts of

our being. This fact, in the natural history of morality, may be illustrated by an analogous fact in the natural history of language. A man cannot but use language, and he cannot but use it in conformity with certain rules and laws. He cannot alter one law of language any more than he could invent a new language: he can even hardly add a single word, deliberately and designedly, to an existing one. And he must not only use language in conformity with its natural laws, but he must also use that particular form of it which the working of general laws has developed, necessarily, both for him and in him. Just so is it with morality. Man seems to invent it; and so he does in a certain sense. But, however, he cannot help inventing it; and he must invent it in conformity with certain laws. Over these he has no control. Though he must use them, he does not invent them. That falls within the sphere of a Higher Power. In some form or other, better or not so good, and in some measure, more or less, morality is a congenital necessity of our being, and if society be fairly and wisely dealt with (but of this when we speak of the wisdom of Egypt, and again in our summing up) there are grounds for disposing us to believe that moral, and not animal instincts, may in any people be made the lords of the ascendant.

It will be enough to say here that extremes, then, appear in some sense to have met. We believe just as distinctly as the Jew, or as the Egyptian, that the law came from God; that in it God speaks within us and through us; and that our part is to harken to, to bow down before, and obey the Divinity. This involves morality, religion, responsibility, conscience. They saw this through moral intuition. We see it also through history and science. The primæval

intuition, and the modern demonstration, constructed out of the materials with which our hoards of experience and observation have supplied us, are in perfect accord. Intuition prior to knowledge, and accumulated knowledge reasoning out the problem, have both arrived at the same conclusion : and so we have sufficient grounds for believing that no other conclusion is possible; and that what history has demonstrated to be inseparable from the working of society and from the being of man, will endure as long as society and as man shall endure.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EFFECT OF EASTERN TRAVEL ON BELIEF.

Ignorance is the curse of God;
Knowledge the wing whereby we fly to Heaven.——SHAKSPEARE.

THE question that I find has been most frequently put to me since my return home is—What effect travel in the East has on belief?

What the effect may be in any case will, of course, depend on what were the ingredients of the belief. If, for instance, a traveller makes the discovery that old Egypt was far grander, far more civilized, and far more earnest than the mention of it in the Hebrew Scriptures had led him to suppose, he will receive a shock; or if a man finds the agricultural capabilities of Syria utterly unadapted to English methods of farming, and has no idea of other methods; and if, furthermore, he is ignorant of the ways in which commerce can maintain a large population anywhere, he will receive another shock. We can imagine that such persons will ever afterwards affirm that the effects are bad. They were bad in their own minds, and they cannot see how they can be good in any other mind.

We will take these two instances first. Suppose a different kind of traveller, one who had previously arrived at some not altogether inadequate conceptions

of the mind, and of the greatness of old Egypt. He had also observed the fact that these things are not dwelt on in the Hebrew Scriptures, and had formed some opinion as to the cause of the omission. Then he will receive no shock from what he sees in the monuments of the greatness of Egypt, and of the evidently high moral aims of its religion. Suppose, again, that he had quite understood that he should not see the same kind of agriculture in Syria as in Suffolk; and that when he was among the hills he had found, often to a greater extent than he had expected, that formerly every rood of ground had been turned to account; it is true, in a very un-English manner, but still in a manner well adapted to the locality; that terraces had been formed wherever terraces could be placed; that corn, figs, olives, vines had been grown on these terraces; on some hills the actual summit is still a vineyard; and that, where it was not suitable for terracing, it had been depastured by flocks and herds; that there is evidence that many hills must have been clothed from the bottom to the top with olives. And suppose also that he was quite aware that populous cities could have been maintained by trade and commerce in Judæa quite as easily, to say the least, as were Palmyra and Petra in the wilderness. Then he will receive no shock from the un-English agricultural aspects of Syria. Instead of any disagreeable sensation of that kind he will see in the present desolation of the country an interesting evidence of a change in the channels of commerce, and a demonstration of the sad fact that where the Turk sets his foot, although he is a very good fellow, grass will not grow.

But to go on with the discoveries that cause shocks. With many Jerusalem is the great stumbling-block.

If, however, we can imagine a traveller visiting the Holy City with sufficient historical knowledge to enable him to recall in a rough way the city of David, and of Solomon, we may be quite certain that he will, as far as that part of the subject goes, receive no shock from the modern city. The same, too, I believe, may be said to a very great extent even of the city of Herod. One who can rightly imagine what that city was externally will not, I think, be disappointed at the sight of modern Jerusalem. I am not now speaking of the Greek traders, the Roman soldiers, the Pharisees, and Sadducees, who might have been seen in the streets, but of the city itself. It must be seen from the Mount of Olives, and I submit that the grand Mosk of Omar, as beheld from that point, is a far more imposing structure, architecturally, than the temple of Herod could possibly have been, which, when seen from a distance, being in the Greek style of architecture, must have been too much wanting in height to produce any very great effect. The Mosk combines great height with variety of form, for there are the curves of the dome as well as the perpendicular lines of the walls and great windows. The dwelling-houses, too, of the modern city must, with their domed stone roofs be more imposing than those of the old city. The cupolas and towers of the churches, and the minarets of the Mosks are additional features. The walls also of the modern city are lofty, massive, and of an excellent colour; and I can hardly think that those of old Jerusalem could have added more to the scene. Herod's Palace, and the greater extent of his city are probably the only particulars in which what has passed away was superior to what is seen now. As looked at from the mount of Olives this day, the city does not

appear to contain a single mean building. History, then, will again save the traveller from receiving a shock at the sight of the outward appearance of Jerusalem; or if it must be felt, will much mitigate its force.

The traveller, however, might be one who had never journeyed as far as the field of history, and was only expecting to find in the Christians of Jerusalem, that is, in the specimens of the Greek and Latin communions there, living embodiments of the Sermon on the Mount; but instead of this, finds littlenesses, frauds, formalism, animosities, dirt. Of course, he receives a shock; and this is, perhaps, the commonest shock of all. But the fault was in himself: he ought to have known better than to have allowed himself to indulge in such anticipations.

Every one, then, of these shocks was unnecessary and avoidable.

And now let us look at another order of suppositions. Suppose the traveller is desirous of understanding something about the efforts that have been made to interpret, and to shape man's moral and spiritual nature under a great, and, on the whole, progressive variety of circumstances, out of which has arisen, from time to time, a necessity for enlarging and recasting former conclusions, so as to include the results of the new light, and to adapt ideas and practices to new circumstances: then what he sees of the East, and of its people will help him mightily in understanding what he wishes to understand. We are supposing that he has limited his expectations to certain clearly-defined objects, such, for instance, as to observe what now can be seen that will throw light on the history of the people whose record is in the Sacred

volume, what kind of people they were, and how it came to pass that they became what they were; and what it was in the natural order that made their minds the seed-bed for the ideas, with which, through their Scriptures, we are all more or less familiar; and what there was in the people that made the moral element more prominent and active in their civilization than in that of Greece and Rome: that is to say, if his objects are strictly limited to what can be investigated and understood by what one sees in the East, because it is the investigation and understanding of what may be seen in the Eastern man, and in Eastern nature; then I think that travel in Egypt and Syria will not cause any shocks or disappointments. On the contrary, I think the traveller will feel, on his return home, that he has brought back with him some light and some food for thought he could not have obtained elsewhere.

As to myself: for of course I can only give my own experience, and equally, of course, it is only that that can be of value, should it happen to possess any, in what I may have to say on this question: I now feel, as I read the sacred page, that I understand it in a way I never did before. It is not merely that I can, sometimes, fit the scene to the transactions—that is something; but, what is more, I am better able to fit the people to the thoughts, and am better able to understand the thoughts themselves. The interest, therefore, and possibly the utility, too, of what I read is increased for me. I have seen the greater simplicity of mind of these oriental people. I have seen that the moral element in them is stronger, either relatively to their intellect, or absolutely in itself—I know not which—and obtains more dominion over them than over our beef-eating, beer-drinking, and

indoor-living people; that the idea of God is more present to them than to us, and has a more constant, and sometimes a deeper, power over them.

Observations of this kind enable one to see and feel more clearly what was in the minds and hearts of the old Orientals. This is true of the whole of Scripture, from the first page to the last; but in an especial manner is it true of the Psalms and of the Gospels. Before I visited the East I saw their meaning through the, to a certain extent, false medium of modern English thought. Elements of feeling and meaning, which before were unobserved and unknown, now stand out clear and distinct. I seem to be conscious of and to understand, in a manner that would have been impossible before, the depth of feeling and the exaltation of the Psalms. The simplicity, the single-mindedness, the self-forgetting heartiness of the morality of the Gospel, I think, gains much from the same cause.

And as it is in great matters and on the whole, so is it in small particulars. For instance, I heard a tall bony half-grey Syrian Arab, in whose mind I had but little doubt that the thought of God was ever present, cursing the God of the Christians. It had never crossed his mind that the God of the Christians was the same as the God of the Mahomedans. Here was the persistence to our own day of the old exclusive idea.

A poor native Christian at Jerusalem told me that he believed the holy places were not now known, because men in these days were not worthy of such blessed knowledge. The old idea again of the superior holiness of past times—and so one might go on with a multitude of similar instances.

I have, then, no commiseration for those who receive the kind of shocks we have been speaking of. If a man goes to the East with anti-historical and unreasonable expectations, there is nothing in the East or in the wide world that can, so far as his expectations go, be of any use to him. Wherever he comes upon truth it will shock him. Nor do I think that travel in the East will be of advantage to the man whose minute apprehension is incapable of taking in anything higher than points of Zulu criticism. This is the criticism of people who are all for small particulars, and who appear to labour under a congenital incapacity for large views and for general ideas. According to their logic, the best established general proposition in contingent matter is not only utterly false, but even inconceivable if they can adduce a single point or case in which it fails. If one of this sort were to find a burr on your clothes, he would be unable to see your clothes for the burr; or if he were to go so far beyond the burr as to form any opinion about your clothes, it would be that they were bad clothes, because of the burr. I have known a person of this kind so perverse, that if you had told him that his wife and children had been burnt to death on the first-floor of a house, the intelligence would have had no effect upon him if he chanced to suppose that you were inaccurate, and were calling the ground-floor the first-floor. He would be incapable of attending to the intelligence you had brought him till this had been rightly understood, and set right. Till that had been done, he would be unable to think of anything else, or talk of anything else. Such is the mind of the Zulu critic. Still, however, there is a place for him, and he is of use in the general scheme.

But my late excursion to the East not only led to the question which stands at the head of this chapter having frequently been put to me, and which may be regarded as illustrative of the mental condition of an educated stratum of society amongst us, but it also led to my obtaining the following illustration of the mental condition of the uneducated class amongst us.

Shortly after my return I had the following conversation with one I knew to be a good specimen of that class—an honest, conscientious, religious soul.

"They tell me, sir, you have been a long way off."

"Yes, neighbour, I have been to Jerusalem."

I thought Jerusalem might touch a chord, but was not sure that Egypt would.

"What! Jerusalem, sir?" with great surprise.

"Yes: Jerusalem."

"Now, sir, you have surprised me. I did not know that there was such a place as Jerusalem in the world. I had always thought that Jerusalem was only a Bible word."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD OF INTERPRETATION.

God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past to the Fathers.——*Epistle to the Hebrews.*

IT belongs very closely to our subject to determine in what sense the Hebrew Scriptures are to be interpreted, because, if the popular interpretation is to be maintained at every point, Egyptology and a great deal more must be entirely abandoned. I would submit that, if universal history is to be studied at all, or if the Hebrew Scriptures are to be applied to any historical purpose whatever, they must be interpreted according to the received canons of historical criticism.

Those who deny this accept, in so doing—if they are logical and consistent—one or other of two alternative consequences: either that all history is contained in the interpretation they put upon the sacred records—that is, in what is at present the popular interpretation—so that nothing that is not contained in, or deducible from, or in harmony with, that interpretation is to be received as history; or else that history has nothing at all to do with the documents, or the documents with history.

There are, however, other people, not less learned

or less desirous of attaining to the truth, who are completely incapable of accepting either of these two alternatives. They value the Holy Scriptures too highly to treat them in this way. They believe that, though their primary object was not historical, they contain much history of many kinds, and of great value. History of events, of the human mind, of conscience, of religion—much of the history, in one word, of man, or of humanity; but, furthermore, they believe—and in this lies the gist of the controversy—that what they contain on any one and on all of these subjects is to be ascertained only by critical investigation. The single historical question with them is, when the documents have been rightly interpreted, what do they really contain?

They believe that the purpose, the character, and the contents of the documents, alike, preclude the idea of fraud and deception. The thought of the existence of any thing of the kind in them had its birth naturally and unavoidably in the popular interpretation. A false and ignorant interpretation, was met by a false and ignorant attack. It could not have been otherwise; for both belong to the same age. No one, then, can be deceived by these documents, excepting those who interpret them ignorantly and wrongly. It is a question of interpretation. A false interpretation has surrounded them with difficulties, and in a great measure destroyed with multitudes their utility and their credit. The true interpretation will remove these difficulties; and where mischief has been done, restore their credit and utility.

But there appears to some a preliminary question: that of the right of interpretation. About this, there however, can be no real question at all, even among those

who support what we call the popular interpretation. How can they deny to others the right they claim for themselves, of adopting the interpretation that appears to them most in accordance with truth and fact? The third, the twelfth, the sixteenth century, and all other centuries, had a right to interpret the document in the way which at the time seemed true. The nineteenth century has the same right. The men of other times interpreted it according to the combination of knowledge, and of ignorance that was in them. We must do the same.

Let us see, then, what is the difference between the popular, and the historical methods of interpretation. In one view we shall find it very great; in another not much. But the point before us will not be fully understood until it be seen in a distinct concrete instance. The popular method goes on the assumption that the modes of thought, and the modes of expression of early ages, and of other races of men must be accepted by ourselves in the sense in which we must take anything addressed to us by a contemporary author. This, the historical method tells us is an impossibility. It has been rendered impossible by subsequent advances in knowledge, in the generalization of ideas, and in language by a larger use of general terms. The historical method says that archaic modes of thought, and modes of expression, must be translated into our modes of thought, and our modes of expression.

I now will give an instance that will include both. In those early times men had not been trained, as we have been, by ages of culture, to think abstractedly. They could only think, if we may so express it, concretely. It was necessary that an image of what was meant should be before their minds. This was what

made idolatry so attractive to the people Moses led up out of Egypt. It was so to all the young world, and to all who are still in the infancy of thought. And it was so in a pre-eminent degree with those Moses had to deal with, for they had been mentally degraded, below even the level of the times, by the hard slavery in which they had been kept for some generations. Even among our own labouring class this inability to think abstractedly is very conspicuous. Their want of intellectual training, their ignorance, their life of toil, their poverty of language, particularly of abstract and general forms of expression, is the cause of it. They can never tell you what they themselves said, or what anybody else said, except in a dramatic form. With them it is always "I said," and "he said." General forms of thought and expression are beyond them. They will not, for they cannot, tell you simply that a thing was done. Instead of this they tell you every step of the process. That which is very remarkable, in this nineteenth century, in one class, amongst ourselves, was a law, a necessity of thought among those with whom Moses had to deal.

As a foundation then, for the theocratic system he was about to establish, he had to announce the idea, not perhaps altogether new to some of those who had come out of Egypt, but one to which Greece and Rome never attained, that God was the Creator. Suppose, then, that he had contented himself, as we might at this day, with stating it in that abstract form. We may be absolutely certain that the statement would have fallen dead on the ears of the people to whom he had to address himself. They could not have taken in the idea. No effect whatever could thus have been produced upon them. He was therefore obliged, not as a

matter of choice, but of necessity, to present the idea to them in the concrete. That is, to give them a series of pictures of creation. This, he had to say was the picture of things before creation begun. This was what was done first. This was what was done next. And so on throughout the whole. And this was what was said at each act of creation. When the idea was presented to them in this concrete, dramatic form, they could understand it, and take it in. It was the only mode of thought, and the only mode of expression that was possible then. When translated into modern modes of thought, and modern modes of expression, it simply means God is the Creator. Nothing more. Those who would press it further, do so because they are not acquainted with the difference between archaic, rude, uncultured modes of thought and expression, and those of minds that have received culture, and been benefited by the slowly maturing fruits of ages of culture.

This method of historical criticism offers similar explanations of much besides these first chapters of Genesis. It tells us that good, and true, and God-fearing men, and who were moved by a divine spirit, could hardly in those times have thought, or expressed themselves otherwise than as they did; and that if, through some form of the Egyptian idea of the transmigration of souls, they had returned to earth, and were now amongst us, with precisely the same yearnings for justice, truth, and goodness they had been moved by in those primitive days, they would not express themselves now as they did then, but as we do. But in either case there would be no difference in their meaning.

It is evident that the historical method of interpretation differs also, in the effect it has on the feelings

and practice, from the popular interpretation of the present day, and of former times. It is evident, for instance, that it could not lead a man to denounce the mythology and religion of Egypt, the aims of which were distinctly moral, as the invention of devils. The old popular methods of interpretation have sanctioned the persecution of those who differ from us in religion, as at the time of the Crusades; and of those who differ from us only in interpretation, as in the case of the treatment of the Vaudois; and in the still more shocking case of the creation and maintenance of the Inquisition, one of the most dreadful episodes in human history. The historical method, however, suggests nothing of the kind. It can regard such extravagancies only as contradictions of the meaning and purpose of religion.

But to go back to the contrast between the popular and the historical methods of interpretation as applied to the particular instance I selected, that of the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. Some little time back I met with the following illustration of the errors into which we must fall if we feel ourselves obliged to take them precisely in the sense that would belong to the words had they been addressed by a living writer to ourselves. There happened to be an equestrian circus exhibiting in the neighbouring town. The gardener who was in my service at the time had rather an inquisitive mind; and the word equestrian, which occurred in the posters that announced the performance, puzzled him; and as he did not like to give his money without knowing what it was for, he asked me what the word meant? I told him it meant an exhibition in which horses bore a part, and that the word was derived from *equus*, the Latin name for a horse.

"No," he exclaimed, "that can't be right."

"Yes," I rejoined, "it is so."

"No;" he continued, "it is impossible; because we are told that when all the animals were created they were brought to Adam, and whatsoever he called each, that was the name thereof. So horse must be the name of the animal all over the world for ever. Being an animal, it can have only one name: the name Adam gave it."

Argument was useless. For him to have been persuaded of anything that contradicted his literal interpretation would have been to abandon belief in the authenticity of the book.

Here then we have the popular method actually at work. We see the whole process. And the way in which it demonstrated to my gardener that *equus* could not possibly be Latin for horse, is much the same as the way in which some other conclusions have been arrived at, with which everybody is familiar, but with which very few people are satisfied.

The attempt to get over the difficulties of the literal method, in the instance that was just now before us, by abandoning it at one point only, that of the meaning of the word "day," has three disadvantages. First that of abandoning a principle while loudly and energetically professing to maintain it. Secondly that of addressing itself to one particular, and not to the whole of the subject. And, thirdly, that of being surpassingly preposterous. Who ever did doubt, or could doubt that, in the place referred to, the word "day" means, and was intended to mean the space of our twenty-four hours. Is not this the meaning attributed to the word in the reference made to the first chapter of Genesis in the Decalogue? And are we not told, in

the body of the narrative itself, with the most emphatic iteration, that the period of time intended by the word is what is comprised in the evening and morning?

On the other hand the historical method of interpretation explains satisfactorily, both why the work is divided into days, and why the constituent parts of each day are spoken of. This was done, because to do so was in conformity with archaic modes of thought and expression.

In this there is nothing forced or strained. Above all it is perfectly true. It also explains everything.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DISAPPEARANCE OF MONUMENTS FROM THE DELTA.

Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be cast down.——*St. Mark.*

THE respective fortunes of the monuments of Upper Egypt and of the Delta have been very different.

In the Delta there was a large number of populous and wealthy cities. Five of them—Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Mendes, and Sebennytus—were of sufficient importance to have given rise to dynasties. So many great cities were probably never before arrayed on so small an area. The cluster of flourishing commercial and manufacturing towns in the Low Countries, offers the nearest approach to it in modern times. These, however, were supported primarily by manufactures and trade, while those of the Delta were supported primarily by agriculture. The base of the Delta along the air line, from Canopus to Pelusium, is not 140 miles, while its two sides, from its apex to those cities, were only about 100 miles in length. Every one of these numerous cities of the Delta had its grand temple —some more than one. Many were, even for Egypt, of unusual extent and massiveness. They were generally built of the finest granite. The great temple of

Bubastis, of which Herodotus gives a minute account, and which appeared to him more finished and beautiful than any other structure in Egypt, was nearly a furlong in length, and of the same width. It was built throughout of granite. Its sculptures bear the name of the great Rameses. It was placed on a peninsula, formed in an artificial lake in the middle of the city. The isthmus leading to the sacred enclosure was a strip of land between two parallel canals from the Nile. Each of them was 100 feet wide. They fed the lake which completely surrounded the temple, with the exception of the isthmic entrance. The width of the lake was 1,400 feet. Along the sides of the isthmus were rows of lofty evergreen trees. As the ground on which the city stood had been raised by the earth excavated from the bed of the lake, and by other accumulations, to a considerable height above the temple enclosure, you looked down on the red-granite temple, the green trees, and the water from all sides. We can understand Herodotus's preference for this temple. We can still trace out most of the particulars of his description and measurements. Of the temple itself, however, only a few scattered stones remain, but these are sufficient to show of what materials, and by whom, it was built.

At Tanis there must have been a still grander temple, erected also by the same Rameses. In one respect, at all events, more had been done for it than for any other temple in Egypt, for it was enriched by at least ten obelisks. In its construction also granite had been largely used. As Rameses built with sandstone at Karnak, Luxor, and Thebes, which were different quarters of his great capital, and where he must have wished to make the chief display of his magnificence,

why in the Delta was he not content with the same material? We here find him using a far more costly material, and one which he had to fetch from a greater distance than the sandstone quarries of Silsileh. The only discoverable reason is, that he desired to build for eternity, and that he was afraid that the sandstone he was employing in Upper Egypt might in a long series of years feel the effects of the damp in the Delta, at all events to such an extent as that the sculptures might suffer. The sandstone is remarkably hard and compact, and he was satisfied with it in the dry climate of Upper Egypt; but he had misgivings as to its power of resistance to the climate of Lower Egypt; and, therefore, that he might not incur any avoidable risk, he went to the additional expense of employing granite from Assouan, in the Delta.

The temple of Sais could not have been inferior, either in extent or costliness, to either of the two just mentioned. It was built partly of limestone and partly of granite. Here were buried all the kings of the Saite Dynasty. Herodotus dwells upon its magnificence. Its propylæa exceeded all others in their dimensions. It, too, had its lake, on which were celebrated the mysteries of the sufferings of Osiris. Like the temple of Tanis, it had its obelisks and, besides, several colossi and androsphinxes. The margin of its sacred lake was cased with stone; but its chief ornament was a shrine composed of a single block of granite, in the transport of which, from Elephantiné to Sais, two thousand boatmen had been employed for three years. This shrine was 31 feet long, 22 broad, and 12 high. The lake, but without its stone casing, and the site remain, but every other trace of all this magnificence has almost entirely disappeared.

A few fragments of granite in the mounds of the old city, are all the remains of the former greatness of Sebennytus.

Only six miles, however, from Sebennytus are the rubbish-heaps of Iseum. Here are the ruins of a most stately temple, every stone in the walls and roof of which was an enormous block of granite. No other material had been used. So regardless had been its builders of cost, that throughout the greater part of the structure they had sculptured this intractable adamant in unusually high relief. But though it was thus massively constructed of imperishable materials, and decorated with such lavish expenditure, it has been so completely wrecked, that now the traveller finds in its place merely a heap of stones. What was the temple is there, but not one stone has been left standing on another.

And so we might go on throughout the whole Delta. Every few miles would bring us to the site of a city that once was great—the distinguishing feature of the greatness of which had been its temple. The peculiarity of them all was that the material chiefly used in their construction was granite. In most cases, the very materials of which the temples were constructed have utterly disappeared, though the spot on which each stood is still easily distinguishable. In some few cases, where the temple was of unusual extent—Iseum is the most conspicuous instance of this—considerable proportions of the materials remain, but even there everything has been thrown down, and, as far as possible, destroyed.

The reason generally given for this, in every case, utter ruin, and in most cases complete disappearance of the monuments of antiquity throughout the Delta is, that the climate being rendered comparatively

moist by the contiguity of the sea, has not been so favourable to their preservation as the drier climate of Upper Egypt has proved to the monuments of that district. The difference in the hygrometrical condition of the air, and the rain that falls occasionally in the Delta, will not account, I think, for the effect that has been produced. The climate of Gizeh is not very different from that of the actual Delta, and here five or six thousand years have not in the least affected the original casing at the top of the Second Pyramid. The obelisk that has been standing for very nearly two thousand years on the very beach at Alexandria, and which for the previous two thousand years had stood at the apex of the Delta, has not been affected to such an extent as would contribute, in any appreciable degree, I will not say to the overthrow, but to the injury, of any building ever raised by an Egyptian architect. And yet at Alexandria these supposed disintegrating influences are at their maximum, and are aided by the salt-impregnated drift from the sea in the case of this obelisk, which has, notwithstanding, outlived for so long a period every temple and palace throughout the Delta, after having witnessed the erection of every one of them. If it had a tongue, it would, I think, tell us that it was not the climate that had been the destroyer, but man.

The decree which the Emperor Theodosius issued at the instance of the Archbishop and Christians of Alexandria, to authorise the destruction of the great temple of Serapis in that city, shows what was probably the cause of the first overthrow of the temples of the Delta. As long as they stood, it was thought there would be priests to minister in them, and worshippers to frequent them. And in those days of religious

faction-fights, we know that they were frequently used as fortresses. We might say that the way to meet these difficulties was to trust to the imperishableness of truth, and to the sure decay of falsehood; but whatever we might do, we certainly could not destroy the historic monuments of a glorious antiquity. They, however, had not our ideas on these subjects; and, moreover, were blinded by the dust and smoke of the battle that was raging around them; and so they acted on the principle that was afterwards formulated to the north of the Tweed, that the way to get rid of the rooks is to pull down the nests.

When the overthrow of a temple had been once effected, we may be quite sure that all the limestone that could be found in it would be very soon sent to the kiln. A great deal of lime is used in Egypt for walls and for plastering, and everywhere throughout the country, even in places where the stone might be had for the quarrying, the Arab has preferred the stones of old tombs and temples to the somewhat more costly process of cutting what he wanted from the living rock. Mehemet Ali, while constructing his paltry nitre-works at Karnak, although the mountain on the opposite side was of limestone, to get what was requisite for his purpose of this material, destroyed one of the historic propylons within the sacred enclosure. In the pyramid district, often with the limestone under their feet and all around them, it has been the common practice to calcine the, to us, precious sculptured and painted stones of the tombs. And in this the modern Arab is only following the example of the old Egyptian, and of all other people who wanted the materials of unused buildings close at hand. We may, therefore, be sure that, a few cen-

turies after the overthrow of these temples of the Delta, all the limestone that could be picked out of their ruins was consumed in this way.

We have seen, however, that the chief material employed in the construction of the grandest of them was not limestone, but granite. This was utterly indestructible by the climate; and yet, in some places, it has entirely vanished as completely as the limestone; and has in the rest been much diminished. The same cause, I believe, has brought about the disappearance of both. As was done with the limestone, so has it happened to the granite: it has been used for whatever purposes it was adapted. The smaller pieces, as may frequently be seen, have been carried off for building material; and the larger pieces have been turned to account in the way in which we find that fragments of the granite colossus of Rameses the Great at Thebes have been employed, as millstones for grinding and mortars for pounding corn.

All the phenomena of the case are thus accounted for. Every one must wish that these imposing historic monuments of a great past had been preserved to our times. We feel as if those who threw them down and those who afterwards employed their displaced but still sacred stones for their own petty purposes, have done to ourselves and to the civilized world an irreparable wrong. It may, however, mitigate our indignation, to remember that the former acted under a misapprehension of the nature and requirements of their cause; and that we ought not to be hard upon the poor Arab for having done what popes and cardinals did, when, to build palaces for themselves, they pulled down, with sacrilegious hands, the monuments of old Rome.

This destruction of tombs and temples has in Egypt

been going on always. Of late years, indeed, there has been an increased demand for building materials, in consequence of some portion of the Kedivé's numerous loans having been spent in public works, and in giving employment to a great many people who have had to build houses for themselves; the work of destruction, therefore, is advancing at a greater rate than it ever did before. Many can confirm this from their own observation. Every one who revisits the country sees how rapidly and completely the stones of newly-opened tombs have disappeared. He saw them a few years ago: now he hears that they have been sent to the kiln.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POST-PHARAOHNIC TEMPLES IN UPPER EGYPT.

Cui bono?——CICERO.

THE Ptolemaic temple of Edfou, unlike those of the Delta, has suffered little from the injuries either of time or of man. It is substantially, both internally and externally, in the state in which it was two thousand years ago, when the inhabitants of the great city of Apollo passed in procession between its stately propylons and entered its great court to hear hymns sung in praise of, and to witness offerings made to, the child Horus, and to the Egyptian Venus, or, as she is described in an inscription on the walls, "the Queen of men and of women," to whom the temple was dedicated.

The external walls are complete, so are all the chambers, halls, corridors, and courts within, even to the monolithic granite shrine. The well, too, to which you descend by a flight of steps, is still full of water. I seldom found a temple without its well. Many had lakes also annexed to them for ornament, for the performance of religious ceremonies, as that at Sais for the mysteries of Osiris, or for the boat procession in the funeral function, as at Thebes; or, in addition to these objects, to strengthen the defensive position of

the temple. We know that this was a purpose for which the temples were used : in fact, each had its own trained and armed militia : and it is impossible to look upon such a structure as this temple of Edfou without perceiving that the idea of having a stronghold was included by the builder in his original design. The height and massiveness of the surrounding wall were such as to make either battery or escalade impossible, and there were no apertures left in it by which entrance could be effected. In fact, the temples gave the priests and government in every city an impregnable citadel, and one against which no exception could be taken, however strong it was made, for was it not all done for the glory of the gods of the city ? And so the people were tricked into assisting to forge their own chains. Thoughts of this kind arise in your mind as you pass through the courts and galleries, ascend the propylons, and walk upon the roof of this magnificent fortress temple. The sculptures on the walls, representing a royal boat procession on the river, enable us to picture to ourselves how the last of the Ptolemies, the Circe of the Nile, appeared on these occasions. Here, too, is an inscription of much interest, for it gives some account of several estates belonging to the temple.

At Dendera the greater part of the work, and of the sculptures belong to the Roman period. The Egyptian architect now receives through the Roman governor of the province, his instructions from, and reports back their execution to, the banks of the Tiber. On the walls we read the names of Augustus and of his four successors in the Empire, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. On an older part of the structure occurs the name of the Egyptian son of the greatest of the Cæsars, together with his mother's, the great

Egyptian enchantress. In the Ptolemaic temple also at the south-west angle of the enclosure at Karnak, both these names are repeated several times. In each case the name is accompanied with what is meant for a sculptured portrait of this famous lady. In the fulness and roundness of the face there is some resemblance to the features with which Guido embodies his idea of her in his celebrated picture. His instinctive conception of refined and enduring voluptuousness has thus proved true to nature.

But, though at Dendera the existing buildings are modern, dating from a little before and after the Christian era, yet the site is as old as any in Egypt. An inscription has been found by which we are informed that a temple was completed on this spot by Apappus (that is to say, perhaps three thousand years before Christ), which had been commenced three or four hundred years previously by Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid. (We may ask, by the way,—How does this agree with the legend that he closed the temples?) And that eighteen hundred years after the foundation of the temple by Cheops, that is one thousand five hundred years before Christ, the structure which Apappus had completed was reconstructed by Tuthmosis III.

At Esné is another of the great post-Pharaohnic temples of Upper Egypt. What has been disinterred here belongs also to the Roman period. The list of inscribed names includes Tiberius, Germanicus, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Decius. The last is of the date 250 A.D., and is the latest instance yet found of the name of a Roman emperor on an Egyptian temple, inscribed in hieroglyphics. Here, too, has been found the shield of Tuthmosis III. We

may infer, therefore, that the work of the Roman period now standing was placed, as at Dendera, upon the site of a temple erected by this great Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty. Perhaps, as the excavations here have not yet extended beyond what may be regarded as merely the front of the temple, some of the older structure may hereafter be brought to light from beneath the still undisturbed mounds behind.

These three temples of Edfou, Dendera, and Esné, are of great value historically. They enable us to understand what was the condition of Egyptian art, and, to some extent, in what condition the Egyptians themselves were in the Greek and in the Roman period. From the time of Menes to the time of Decius we see that they possessed the same language, the same arts, the same style of art, the same method of writing, the same mythology, and the same social arrangements. The mind is almost overwhelmed at the contemplation of such stability in human affairs. With this vast tract of time, spread over four thousand years, we are acquainted historically. Of the period that preceded it we have no monuments, and know nothing historically. What we know, however, of the historical period enables us to infer with confidence that the period which preceded it, and in which all this knowledge, all these arts, and these aptitudes were acquired, this mythology constructed, and this social organization possessing so much vitality and permanence, grew into form, and established itself, could not possibly have been a short period.

The antiquity of the sites of Dendera and Esné, and perhaps also of Edfou, must have contributed largely towards the eventual preservation of their temples. When a temple had for some thousands of

years been standing on the same site, the surrounding city necessarily rose very much above it. This rise would be more rapid in Upper Egypt than in the Delta from merely natural causes, for the yearly deposit of soil is far greater in that part of the valley which first receives the mud-charged waters of the inundation. When, therefore, these cities were overthrown or deserted, the deep depressions in which the temples stood were soon filled from the rubbish of the closely surrounding mounds, and the temples, thus buried, were preserved. Both at Dendera and Esné the very roofs are below the level of the mounds, and nothing can be seen till excavations have been made, in which the temples are found complete. It was almost the same at Edfou also.

Wherever, too, the temples were constructed not of limestone, but of sandstone, there was in the comparative uselessness of their material another cause at work in favour of their preservation. Probably, however, that which most effectually of all contributed to this result was the circumstance that from the time when these temples were built, that is to say, throughout the Greek, Roman, and Saracenic periods, the upper country has never been prosperous, or made the seat of government. That has always established itself in the Delta. It has been a consequence of this that in Upper Egypt, that is in the district to which our attention has been just directed, there has been little or no occasion for building: it was not, therefore, worth while to pull down these temples at the time they were standing clear, or to disinter them after they had been buried in the rubbish heaps of the cities in which they had stood, for the sake of the building materials they might have supplied.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RATIONALE OF THE MONUMENTS.

Jamque opus exegi, quod non Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas;
Nomenque erit indelebile nostrum.

It was a piece of great good fortune for us that the mighty Pharaohs of old Egypt felt to an heroic, almost sublime, degree the narrow, selfish oriental desire to perpetuate their names and the memory of their greatness. Of course, this was connected very closely with the traditional primitive idea that great kings were not as other men are. They were of the materials of which gods had been made. Were they not, indeed, already objects of worship to their subjects? Were they not already received into the family of the gods? It is to these feelings that we are indebted for the possession of one of the earliest—and not least interesting—chapters in the records of our race. We have at this day precisely what, four or five thousand years ago, they deliberately contrived means for our having; and we have it all written in a fashion which indicates, through the very characters used, much of the artistic peculiarities, and even of the moral condition and daily life, of those who inscribed them. There is nothing in the history of mankind which combines such magnitude,

such far-reaching design, such wise provision of means for the purpose in view, and, as time has shown, such complete success. Some circumstances and accidents, such as the climate of the country, the materials with which they had to work, and the point the arts they had to employ had then reached, happily conspired to aid them; but this does not deprive them of the credit of having turned everything they used to the best account with the utmost skill, and the most long-sighted sagacity.

The question they proposed to themselves was—How the memory of their greatness and of their achievements might be preseved eternally. There was the method we know was practised by the Persians and the Hebrews. They might have caused to be recorded what they pleased in chronicles of their reigns, written in whatever was the ordinary character, and on whatever were the ordinary materials. There can be little doubt but that this was done. Such records, however, did not give sufficient promise of the eternity they desired. All materials for writing were perishable. Great national overthrows might occur, and all written documents might be destroyed. The language in which they were written might change, and even the memory of it die out. Written documents, in order that the record might be preserved, must be transcribed. Here were opportunities for omissions and alterations. These objections were conclusive against trusting exclusively to written documents. We can now see that if the old Pharaohs had relied only on such records as these, very little would at this day be known about them, or ancient Egypt. What we now know would have occurred, fully justifies their prescience—just as well as we know

now, after the event, what would have been, they knew, before the event, what would be.

They, therefore, devised another method—that of inscribing on stone what they had to record. This was a material which might be so used as to be practically imperishable. What was written on this would not require to be rewritten from time to time. The work might be so done as to bid fair to survive national overthrows. It might be read, at all events, to some extent by any man's eyes, although the language of Egypt might be lost.

But in order to secure the advantages which might be found in the adoption of this method, certain conditions were necessary, a want of foresight, or neglect of which would render the attempt futile. The building on which the records were to be engraved and sculptured must be of such a size as to supply sufficient wall-space for the whole of the chronicles of the king's reign, and for all the scenes, religious or secular, he might wish, from their connection with himself, to depict and perpetuate. This, it is obvious, would necessitate very large buildings. They must, also, be so constructed as to be able to withstand all the accidents and adverse circumstances to which they might, in the course of ages, be exposed. No buildings that men had hitherto considered most solid and magnificent would fulfil this condition. They all in time, from one cause or another, had become dilapidated. A double problem was thus presented to them: first, how to get sufficient wall-space, and then to get this sufficiency on buildings exempt from all the ordinary, and even most of the extraordinary, chances of destruction. The first was easily answered. The building—or if it be a tomb, the excavation—must

be enlarged to the required dimensions. The second was more difficult. They answered it by the character they gave to the architecture. The smaller the stones of which a building is constructed, the smaller its chances of longevity: the larger its stones, the greater its chances. The stones, for instance, might be so small, that any one who, in times when the building might be deprived of all natural guardians, happened to want such pieces, might carry them off on his donkey, or, if larger, on his camel, to burn for lime, or to use for the walls of a house or enclosure. Stones, even of considerable size, might easily be thrown down, and cut up to serve the purposes of those who could command the amount of labour always at the disposal of any well-to-do person; but it was possible to imagine stones used of so great a size that it would require such expensive tackle and so many hands to throw them down, that it would be cheaper, in most instances, to go directly to the quarry, and cut out for one's self what was wanted. Now, this was just what the Pharaohs of old Egypt foresaw and acted on. They built with stones, which could not be removed, except by those who could command something like the amount of labour, machinery, and funds they themselves employed in raising them, and who might find it profitable to employ their resources in this way. The wisdom of the prevision was proved when the Persians were in complete possession of the land, and in their iconoclastic zeal and hatred of the religion of Egypt would, if they could have readily managed it, not have left one stone upon another in any temple throughout the Valley of the Nile.

This method of building also reduced to a minimum the number of joints. This was, in more

ways than one, a great gain. Many joints would have interfered very materially with their sculptures and wall-writing, and to have this in as perfect a form as possible was the object of all their labour. That the masonry had many joints would also, sooner or later, have led to the displacement of stones, which would have mutilated the record, and eventually have brought about the ruin both of it and of the building itself. When we see how careful Egyptian architects were in making the joints as fine as possible, so that the stones of a building are often found to be as accurately fitted together as if it were jewellers' work, and not masonry—and when we observe that the further precaution is sometimes taken of covering the joints of the roof with stone splines, in order to minimize the corroding effects of air and wet, we may be sure that they would be predisposed to adopt a style of building which would very much reduce the number of joints.

The thoughts and motives I have been attributing to these old builders will account for another fact that needs explanation. The ancient Egyptians were familiar with the principle and use of the arch. We find in the temple-palace of the great Rameses a crude brick arch, every brick of which contains his name. There are, too, frequent instances of it in the tombs; but we do not find it in their grand structures. There is no difficulty in divining the reason. It was unsuitable to the purpose they had in view. For the reasons I have given they had decided on using enormous blocks of stone. Arches thus heavily loaded would have been subject to unequal subsidence, which would have been derangement—probably, destruction—to them; and they knew that the arch, in consequence of the lateral thrust,

is a form of construction that never sleeps. Hence their conception and formation of a style—for they did not borrow it—which was confined to horizontal and perpendicular lines.

That it was their intention to use their walls for historical and descriptive sculptures and writing, precisely in the same way in which we use a canvas for a picture, or a sheet of paper for writing or printing, is undoubted, because every square foot of space of this kind they created in the great buildings they erected is invariably used in this way. And that this and the other motives I have assigned decided them in employing such enormous blocks of stone, is equally undoubted, because they are obvious reasons, and no other reason can be imagined for inducing them to go to so much expense. The size of the building was decided by the amount of wall-space they required for the records they wished to place upon it; and the size of the stones by their estimate of what would be sufficient to ensure their record against the destroying hand, both of time and of man. Had the art of printing, and of making cheap durable materials to print upon, been known in those days, these monuments would never have been constructed: the motive would have been wanting.

Two methods were used for presenting the record to the eye, hieroglyphical writing and sculpture. Here, again, the idea that originated the monument is manifested. Those who could not understand the writing would be able to understand, at all events, the sculptures. The time might come when none would understand the writing, then the sculptures might still be depended on confidently for supplying the desired record. If the object was any other than that of

securing an eternal record, why adopt these two methods? If it had been merely decoration that was in their thoughts, the sculptures would have been enough.

The question has often been asked—Why the rock tombs of the kings and of others were excavated to such a surprising extent? Their extent presents so much difficulty to some minds, that one of our best known engineers, who is quite familiar with them, tells me that he cannot believe but that they were originally merely stone quarries; and that the kings, and sometimes wealthy subjects, finding them ready made, converted them into tombs. We may, however, be quite sure that the Egyptians never would have gone up into the mountains to the valley of the kings, to quarry limestone in descending galleries, two or three hundred feet long, when every step that they had taken for the previous two or three miles had been over limestone equally good. The true answer is that they made these sepulchral excavations of such enormous extent for precisely the same reason that they constructed their temples and palaces of such vast dimensions. They would not have answered the purpose for which they were wanted had they been less. Wall space was required for recording all that an active prince in a long and eventful or prosperous reign had done; and all that he wished to be known about himself, his pursuits, his amusements, and his relations to the gods. And just as, if it had been possible to put it all in print, a great deal of paper would have been needed, so when put in hieroglyphics and sculptures there was required a proportionate amount of wall space. So also with private individuals. If Petamenap could have written memoirs of himself, and had a thousand

copies struck off, and sent one to be deposited in each of several great public libraries, he would have been content with less than three-quarters of a mile of wall-space in his tomb. Under the circumstances, then, what we find is just what we might have expected. There is nothing wonderful, considering the motive, in the extent of these excavations. The excavated tombs of Jews, Edomites, Greeks, Etruscans, and many other people were not larger than was necessary for the becoming interment of the corpse. If the Egyptians had had only the same object and no other, their excavations would have been of the same size.

Of course, the idea of suggesting the greatness of the gods by the greatness of the houses that had been built for them, and of regarding the temple as an offering, which became worthy of its object in proportion to its vastness and costliness, could not have been wanting in Egypt. Nor could there have been wanting among the priest class the additional idea that the greatness of the temple is reflected on those who minister in and direct its services. All this may be readily acknowledged, still such ideas will not justify, or account for the unusual dimensions of these temples, or for the still more unusual dimensions of the stones of which they are constructed. Everything has a reason. And in an especial degree must particulars of this kind, which involved so great an expenditure of time and labour, have had a distinct and sufficient reason; and that could have been no other than the one I have assigned to them. The vast dimensions, too, of the rock-tombs must be considered in conjunction with the vast dimensions of the temples. What made the rock-tombs of Egypt larger than other rock-tombs made

the temples of Egypt larger than other temples: and that was the desire of their excavators and builders to secure a vast expanse of wall space fit for such mural sculptures, paintings, and inscriptions as we now find upon them.

The obelisks also come under the same category. They were books on which were inscribed what those who set them up wished them to record. Herodotus mentions that stelæ and figures, both with inscriptions, were set up by Sesostris (Sethos and Rameses in one) in Syria, Asia Minor, and elsewhere. The object in view here also was, of course, mainly to have something to write upon. Where the commander-in-chief of a modern army would use a gazette, or posters, for his manifestoes, Sesostris inscribed what he had to say to the people of the country on the face of a rock, or upon a statue of himself he had set up for that purpose.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WISDOM OF EGYPT, AND ITS FALL.

So work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule of Nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
——SHAKSPEARE.

As day after day we wander about on the historic sites of old Egypt, among the temples and tombs, and endeavour to comprehend their magnitude and costliness, the thought and labour bestowed on their construction, and the ideas and sentiments embodied and expressed in the structures themselves, and in the sculptures placed upon them, we are brought to understand that never in any country has religion been so magnificently maintained. Israel had but its single temple; here, however, every city of the land—and no land had a greater number of great cities—had erected a temple, and often more than one, which was intended not so much for time as for eternity. One third of the land of Egypt was devoted to the support of the priesthood. The payments also made by the people for the services of religion must have amounted to large yearly aggregates. The spoils of Asia and Africa were, as well as the royal revenues, appropriated, in a large proportion, to religious purposes. Pharaoh was

himself a priest, and his palace was a temple. The sacred books, in which everything that was established and taught was contained, had the sanction of heaven; and the religion the people professed was not around them and before them only: it was also in their hearts —their daily life was framed upon it. Their motives were drawn from it, and their actions had reference to it. It had inspired literature, created art, organized society, and built up an empire; and no form of religion had or, we may add, has ever, for so long a period of time, made men what they were; for, from the time of Menes, at least, to that of Decius, it had been doing this work.

At last a day came when life suddenly left the organism—for religion is an organism of thought. It was dissolved into its primal elements, and a new organism was formed out of those elements, and took its place. That so much had been said and done on its behalf and in its name; that it had borne so much good fruit, that it had had so grand a history; that it had been believed in, and been the source of the higher life to a great people for so many thousand years, were all powerless to save it.

But here the Muse of History whispers to us that it is not enough that we have seen in the monuments the evidence of its existence, of its greatness, and of its overthrow, but that we must also endeavour to make out what it was that had maintained it, and what it was that overthrew it; and then what are the lessons its maintenance and its overthrow contain for ourselves.

It is useless to turn to the history of Egypt, or of any other country, merely to satisfy an empty curiosity, or to feed a barren—and often a mischievous—love of

the marvellous. The legitimate aim and—if it be reached—the precious fruits of such studies is to enable ourselves to make out the path along which some portion of mankind travelled to the point it reached, and to see how it fared with them by the way; what hindered and what promoted their advance; to ascertain what they did, how they did it, and what effects the doing of it had—and all this in order that haply thereby some serviceable light may be thrown on our own path and position. This is the only way in which we can properly either form opinions, or review the grounds of opinions already formed on many subjects in which we are most concerned—for these are subjects with respect to which the roots of opinion are for us laid in history.

First then—What was the cause of this long life, this stability of the religion of Egypt? The primary cause was that, as we have seen, it was thoroughly in harmony with the circumstances and conditions of the Egypt of its time. It had thoroughly and comprehensively grasped those circumstances and conditions. It had, with a wise simplicity, interpreted them, and adapted itself to them. But that was not all. In a manner possible at that time it had made itself the polity and the social life, as well as the religion of the nation; and having done this—that is, having absorbed and taken up into itself every element of power—it gave to itself a fixed and immutable form. Thenceforth, all fermentation, or disposition to change in political and social matters, and too in manners and customs, and even in art, became impossible—for all these things go together. The natural condition, therefore, of Egypt became one of fixity and equilibrium. There was no tendency to move from

the *status quo*, or even to do anything in a way different from that in which men had done it, or to feel in a manner different from that in which men had felt for, at least, four thousand years. What were now the instincts of the people were all in the opposite direction. It appeared as if Egypt had never been young, and could never become old—as if it had never had a beginning, and could never have an end. Time could not touch it: society worked with the regularity of the sun and of the river.

This will show us, too, why it did not spread. This religion and this system, which were so admirably adapted to the then conditions and circumstances of Egypt, were not adapted to the conditions and circumstances of other countries. If the world had been composed, physically and morally, only of so many Egypts, so that the discovery of new regions would be only the addition of new Egypts to those already known, then the temples of Abydos, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Karnak would still be crowded with the devout worshippers of the gods of old Egypt; and so would the temples of thousands of other cities. The ideas in the minds of these worshippers would still be the ideas which had existed in the minds of Sethos and Rameses, and the Egyptians of their day—neither better nor worse—and they would have been propagated, and would continue to be propagated, to the other Egypts of the world. But, fortunately, the world is not a repetition of Egypts, or of anything else, and so an insuperable barrier existed, in the very nature of things, to prevent the outflow of Egyptianism into other lands.

But what was it that overthrew it in its own home, where it was so strong? We may infer that it will

probably be something, not that was spontaneously generated within, but that came from without. And so it was. But what was that something? It was not force. That the Persians had tried, and it had been powerless. Nor could the dominion of foreign laws and customs at the summit of society overthrow it: that has, elsewhere, sapped and undermined domestic institutions; but in Egypt it, too, was powerless, as was demonstrated by ages of Greek and Roman rule.

Nor did the religion of old Egypt fall because it had aimed in a wrong direction. By their religion I mean their philosophy of the whole, their purposed organization of the entire domain of experience and observation and thought, including in its range the invisible as well as the visible world. Its object had been the moral improvement of man. Though, of course, from this statement some very damaging deductions must be made; for it had not aimed equally at the moral improvement of all, that is to say, of every man because he was a man. It had failed here because it had had another co-ordinate aim, necessary for those times: the maintenance of the social, intellectual, and material advantages of a part of the community at the expense of the rest. This was, though necessary, immoral. Still, however, it made the present only a preparation for the higher and the better life. The things that are now seen it regarded as the ladder by which man mounts to the things that are not yet seen, which alone are eternal realities. Of these aims and doctrines of the religion every man's understanding and conscience approved. Without this approval the religion could not have maintained itself.

Neither did it fall because the civilization of Egypt

had at last, after so many thousands of years, worn itself out. There were no symptoms of the life within it having become enfeebled through time, or from anything time had brought. The propylons, the enclosing wall, the monolithic granite shrine, the mighty roof-stones, the sculptures of the Ptolemaic Temple of Edfou, and the massive monolithic granite shaft of the pillar raised at Alexandria to the honour of Diocletian, prove that, down to the last days of this long period, they could handle, as deftly as ever their forefathers had done, masses of stone so ponderous that to look at them shortens our breathing; and which they sculptured and polished in the same way as of old. The priests who explained the sculptures of Thebes to Germanicus were lineally the descendants of those who had formed the aristocracy, and had supplied the magistracy and the governing body of Thebes and of Egypt under Rameses the Great, under Cheops, under Menes. Nor can we suppose that any such amount of moral or intellectual degeneration had been brought about as might not easily have been recovered by the restitution of the old conditions of the country. The Egyptian system, which left so little to the individual, seemed to provide, just as they had taken care that their great buildings should, against whatever contingencies might arise. There was still in itself the capacity for rising, Phœnix-like, into new life.

So would it have been had Egypt been able to maintain its old insulation. The day, however, for that had gone by. It now formed a part of the general system of the civilized world; and, looking at it in its relations to other people, we discover in it elements of weakness, immorality, and effeteness; and these pre-

cisely it was that caused its fall. The state of things that had arisen could have had no existence during the four thousand years or more it had passed through. What that state of things was, and how it acted, is what we have now to make out distinctly to our thoughts.

If the mind of man had been incapable of advancing to other ideas, and the heart of man incapable of higher moral sentiments than the ideas and sentiments that had been in the minds and hearts of Sethos and Rameses, and the Egyptians of their day, then all things would have continued as they had been. But such has not been, is not, and; we may suppose, will never be, the condition of man on this earth. Ideas and sentiments are powers—the greatest powers among men. And there were ideas and sentiments yet to come which were higher generalizations than those of old Egypt, and which, therefore, were instinct with greater power. Knowledge, and corresponding moral sentiments, had been the power of old Egypt, but now they were to be confronted by profounder knowledge, and more potent moral sentiments. The Egyptians, however, had put themselves into such a position that they could not add the new light to the old, or graft the scion of the improved vine upon the old stock. The only result, then, that was possible was that that which was stronger and better must sweep away that which was not so strong or so good, and take its place. It must be a case, not of amalgamation, but of substitution.

Old Egypt, in order to perpetuate and render available its knowledge, and to bring out immediately and fully its working power, had swathed both it and society in bands of iron. In doing this they had seen clearly what they wanted, and how to produce it.

They knew that morality only could make and maintain a nation; that within certain limits morality could be created, and shaped, and made instinctive. They knew precisely what morality they wanted for their purpose, and how they were to create this, and shape it, and make it instinctive. In this supreme matter they did everything they wanted to do. This, this precisely, and nothing else, was the wisdom of Egypt. It was the greatest wisdom any nation has ever yet shown. If we do not understand these statements the wisdom of Egypt is to us a mere empty phrase. If we do understand them the phrase conveys to us the profoundest lesson history can teach, and at the present juncture, when the foundations of social order are being shifted, a transference of political power taking place, new principles being introduced, and old ones being applied in a new fashion, and in larger measures, it is, of all the lessons that can be found in the pages of history, the one that would be of most service to ourselves.

They knew that they could make the morality they required instinctive. If they could not have done this the whole business would have been with them, as it proved with so many other people, a more or less well-meant, but still only a melancholy *fiasco*. They did, however, thoroughly succeed in their great attempt, and this is what we have now to look into.

First we must get hold of the fact that morality is instinctive. The moral sentiments are instincts. They are instincts which are generated in a people by the circumstances and conditions of the life of the community; this is the spontaneous self-acting cause; and then, secondarily,—this, however, has ultimately the same source and origination—by the deliberate and

purposed arrangements established by governing mind, that is, by laws and religion, the formal embodiment of that mind. They are instincts precisely in the sense in which we apply the word to certain physico-psychal phenomena of the lower animals. They are formed among mankind in the same way, with, as we have just said, the additional cause of the foreseen and intended action of those regulations which are suggested by the working of human societies, and which are devised and designedly introduced by an exercise of the reasoning faculties. They are transmitted in the same way, act in the same way, and are modified, extinguished, and reversed in the same way. Whatever, for instance, may be predicated of the maternal instinct in a hen may be predicated of the maternal sentiment in the human mother, and *vice versâ*, due allowance having been made for modifying conditions, for there are other instincts in the human mother which may enable her to overpower and extinguish the maternal sentiment—a state to which the hen, through the absence of other counteracting instincts, and from defects of reason, can never be brought. This is true of all the moral sentiments from the bottom to the top of the scale. The necessities of human life, and chiefly the working of human society, have originated every one of them. This accounts for every phenomenon belonging to them that men have observed and commented on, and endeavoured to explain; as, for instance, for their endless diversity, and yet for their substantial identity; for their universality; for their apparent foundation in utility; for their apparent origination in the will of the Creator; for their apparent innateness; and for their apparent non-innateness. They are diverse, they are identical,

they are universal, they are founded on utility, they originate in the will of the Creator, they are innate, they are non-innate in the sense in which instincts generated by the necessities of human life, and the working of human societies (everywhere endlessly modified by times and circumstances, yet substantially the same), must possess every one of these qualities. A volume might be written on the enlargement and proof of this statement. The foregoing paragraph will, however, I trust, make my meaning sufficiently clear.

By an instinct I mean an impulse, apparently spontaneous and involuntary, and not the result of a process of reasoning at the time, disposing one to feel and act in a certain regular manner. Observation and experience have taught us that dispositions of this kind in any individual may have been either created in himself, or received transmissively from his parents, having in the latter case been congenital. On the ground of this distinction instincts may be divided into the two classes of those which have been acquired, which are generally called habits, and of those that have been inherited, which are generally called instincts. This division, however, has respect only to that which is unessential and accidental, because that which brings any feeling or act into either class is that it originated in an impulse that arises, on every occasion that properly requires its aid, regularly and without any apparent process or effort of reason. It is founded on an apparent difference in origination, but primarily the origination in both members of the division must have been the same. In this particular these moral conditions may be illustrated by an incident or accident of the property men have in things; an estate is not the

less property because it was acquired by its possessor, nor is another the more so because it was inherited from his predecessors. And just as we distinguish between the unessential circumstances that a property has been acquired by a self-made man, or that it has been inherited, so do we between these two divisions of instinct. It is, however, clear that a habit is merely an acquired instinct, and an instinct an inherited habit. That the thing spoken of should be habitual, that it originated in a certain regular impulse, and not in a conscious exercise of the reasoning faculties at the time; and that the impulse to which it is attributable arises regularly whenever required, and produces, on like occasions, like acts and feelings, are the essential points.

How the dispositions were acquired in cases where they are not hereditary, though a most interesting and important inquiry, and one upon which the old Egyptians would have had a great deal to tell us, is not material to the point now before us. In whatever way the dispositions may have been acquired, the feelings and acts resulting from them are instinctive. As a matter of fact, instincts may be acquired in many ways, as, for instance, through the action of fear, hope, law, religion, training, and even of imitation. A generalization which would include far the greater part of these causes is one I have already frequently used—that of the working of society. Perhaps still more of them may be summed up in the one word knowledge. What a man knows is always present to him, and always putting constraint upon him, disposing him to act in one definite way, conformably to itself, and regularly, instead of in any one of ten thousand other possible ways. This, sooner or later, issues in the habit which is incohate instinct, and at last in the instinct which is hereditary

habit. The hereditary habit, however, is still reversible.

It was just because the Egyptians observed a multitude of these social, family, and self-regarding instincts in the lower animals, who possessed each those necessary for itself, without the aid of speech or law, or the other human manifestations of reason, that they made them the symbols of divinity.

That they had designedly studied the whole of this subject of instinct carefully and profoundly, and that their study of it had been most successful and fruitful, are as evident to us at this day as that they built the pyramids and Karnak. We see the attractiveness the study had for them in the fact that they had trained cats to retrieve wounded water-fowl, and lions to accompany their kings in war, and assist them in the chase; and that they recorded in their sculptures and paintings that they had thus triumphed over Nature, obliterating her strongest instincts, and implanting in their place what they pleased. This tells us, as distinctly as words could, the interest they took in the subject, the importance they attached to it, and that they had formulated the two ideas, that instincts can be created and reversed, and that everything depends upon them. All this had been consciously thought out and worked out by them, and was as clear to their minds as the axioms of political economy are to our modern economists.

The Egyptians then deliberately undertook to make instinctive a sense of social order, and of submission to what was established; and a disposition to comply with all the ordinary duties of morality as then understood, and which were set forth in the forty-two denials of sin the mummy would have to make at the day of judg-

ment. All this they effected chiefly by their system of castes; and by the way in which they taught, and, if we may so express ourselves, by the way in which they worked their doctrine of the future life: and they effected it most thoroughly and successfully.

And now we must advance a step further, and note some of the incidents that belonged to, and consequence that ensued on, what they did. We must bear in mind that their times were not as our times. The means they had to work with, the materials they had to work upon, and the manner in which they were obliged to deal with their means and their materials, necessitated the construction of an inelastic and iron system. This was necessary then and there. Like all the oriental systems, it altered not, and could not alter; and being thus inexpansive and unaccommodating, it besides, in its caste system, involved injustice at home; and, in its being for Egyptians alone, exclusiveness towards the rest of the world, which was, in a sense, the denial of the humanity of all who were not Egyptians. Being settled once for all, it abrogated human freedom. It rejected and excluded all additional light and knowledge; it denied all truth, excepting that to which it had itself already attained: that is to say, however good it may have been for its own time, it eventually made immorality, injustice, falsehood, thraldom of every kind, and ignorance, essential parts of religion. This it was that caused its overthrow.

Let us separate from the list just given of the elements of its eventual weakness, one which was peculiar to those early times, and the history of which is very distinct and interesting: it is that of national exclusiveness. We can see clearly enough how this instinct of repulsion arose. Those were times when

the difficulties in the way of forming a nation were great. Tribes and cities that had always been hostile to one another, and populations composed of conquerors and the conquered, were the materials that had to be compacted into a homogeneous body, animated by one soul. Not cementing but the most violently dissevering traditions alone exist. No community of interests is felt. The instincts of submission to law have not been formed; every man is for doing what is right in his own eyes, or, at most, in the eyes of the few who feel and think as he does. Communications are difficult. A common literature does not exist to inspire common sentiments. It seems almost impossible, under such circumstances, out of such elements, to form a nation : but unless this be done, all good perishes.. On no other condition can anything good be maintained. This is a quite indispensable condition. Here, then, is a case in which the feeling of exclusiveness, if it can be created, will go very far towards bringing about what is needed. It can bind together; it is the sentiment of sundering difference from others, the corollary to which is the sentiment of closest unity among themselves. It is then good and desirable: it must by all means be engendered and cherished. The governing and organizing mind of the community sees this. Efforts therefore are made to establish it as a national instinct.

In Egypt these efforts were made with complete success. At first Egypt had been a region of independent cities: the instincts that had arisen out of that state of things had to be obliterated. A feeling also of intense dislike to their Hyksos neighbours had to be created. All this was done. They were brought to feel that they were a peculiar people, separate from the rest of the world. That they were not as other

people. They had no fellow-feeling towards them. They shrank from them. They hated them. It was quite agreeable to their feelings to ravage, to spoil, to oppress, to put to the sword, to degrade, to insult, to inflict the most cruel sufferings on, to make slaves of, to sacrifice to their gods, those who were not Egyptians. This moral sentiment—in us it would be destructive of morality—had originated in, and been fed by, their circumstances. It had become habitual. It was, taking the word literally, an Egyptian instinct.

And now suppose another state of the world: such as it is around and before us in the Europe of the present day. The sentiment of nationality has everywhere been formed. It can maintain itself without any assistance. What is needed is, not something that will separate people, but something that will bring them to act together. The instinct of exclusiveness, of repulsion, will lead only to troubles, to hostile tariffs, to wars. No good, but only evil, can come of it. Whatever will promote friendliness and intercourse, and prevent their interruption, must be cherished. The old instinct of exclusiveness has now become a mistake, an anachronism, a nuisance, a sin. Everybody sees that what is wanted is the sentiment of universal brotherhood. This, therefore, in its turn, comes to be generally understood and acted on. That is to say, a moral instinct has been reversed: the old one, which did good service in its day, has died out; and that which has come to be needed, and so has superseded it, is its direct opposite.

And now we must follow this sentiment of national exclusiveness and repulsion into the neighbouring country of Israel. There we find that it had been quite as necessary, probably even more necessary,

than in Egypt. It had been engendered by the same process, and for the same purpose. Between these two people the feeling was reciprocated with more than its normal intensity. Their history accounts for this. But now it was to be abrogated in both, and its abrogation in Egypt was to come from Israel. And what we have to do here is to note the steps by which this great moral revolution was brought about.

Fifteen hundred years had passed since the night when the Hebrew bondman had fled out of Egypt, or, as the Egyptian annals described the event, had, at the command of the gods of Egypt, been ignominiously cast out of the land. They had ordered his expulsion, so ran the record, because he was the incurable victim and the prolific source of a foul leprosy. This was the evil disease of Egypt that bondman never forgot. Those fifteen hundred years from the days of the making of the brick for which no straw had been given, and from the building of Pithom and Ramses, had been very chequered years. In that time the fugitive people had had to pass through many a fiery furnace of affliction. Their old task-masters had again, as others, too, had done, set their heel upon them.

During that long lapse of time what a stumbling-block to the Hebrew mind must have been the good things of Egypt: its wealth, its splendour, its power, its wisdom; even its abundance of corn and its fine linen: all that this world could give given to the worshippers of cats and crocodiles. Egypt must have occupied in the Hebrew mind much the same place that is held in the minds of many of ourselves by the existence of evil. It was both a great fact and a great mystery: something which could neither be denied nor explained,

which it is unpleasant to think about, and which had better be kept out of the thoughts of the simple. The Hebrew "was grieved at seeing the Egyptian in such prosperity. He was in no peril of death. He was strong and lusty. He came not into misfortune, neither was he plagued like other men. This was why he was so holden with pride and overwhelmed with cruelty. His eyes swelled with fulness, and he did even as he lusted. He spake wicked blasphemy against the Most High. He stretched forth his mouth unto the heavens, and his tongue went through the world. The people fell before him, and he sucked out from them no small advantage." Such was the aspect in which the prosperity of Egypt presented itself to the mind of the Hebrew. "He sought to understand it, but it was too hard for him." How grand, then, how noble, how absolutely beyond all price, is the reiterated assertion of the Hebrew prophets, even in the worst and darkest times of this long and trying period, of the ultimate triumph of right; of a new heavens and a new earth, that is, of a time when mundane societies would be animated by diviner principles.

At last came what many preachers of righteousness had anticipated, had desired to see, and had not seen. That they had anticipated it under such adverse circumstances, and had lived and died in the faith of it, is a very weighty contributory to the historical argument for natural morality. What they had anticipated came about, however, in a manner and from a quarter of which they could have had no foresight. Beyond the Great Sea, in the distant West, a city whose name Isaiah could never have heard, and which was not even a name in the days of Rameses, and for

many centuries after his time, had grown into an empire, in which had come to be included the whole civilized world. All nations had been cast into this crucible and were being fused into one people. Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, were each of them the children of a more ancient and, in some respects, of a higher and better civilization; but they, like all the rest, had been absorbed into the world-embracing dominion, and were powerless within it, except so far as ideas give power. Every people was now being brought face to face with all other people, and into union and communion with them. The way in which the religions of the world were thus made acquainted with each other acted as a confutation of each in particular. We can form no adequate conception of what the effect must have been. They were all alike discredited. The exclusiveness of each was confuted by the logic of facts. It was out of this conjuncture of circumstances that arose the new idea and sentiment of the brotherhood of mankind. What had hitherto everywhere obscured the view of it was now falling into decay; and what must suggest it had been established.

And no people had been so thoroughly disciplined for receiving this idea as the Jews. They had been brought into closest contact with Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and other oriental people, and it had been that kind of contact which obliges men to understand what other people think. And after they had received this hard schooling from their neighbours, they had been brought into the same kind of contact with Greek thought. They had been obliged to take into their consideration the knowledge and the ways of thinking of the Greeks. They had even been to a great extent compelled to learn their language. Some of the writers

of the New Testament, it is clear, had been taught Greek; and Homer, it is evident, had been the school-book employed in teaching them the language. And now, together with all the rest of the world, they had become members of the universal empire of Rome. All this would have led to nothing except obliteration and absorption, as it did elsewhere, if the Jews had been like other people. They were incapable, however, of succumbing in this way, because they had ideas and moral sentiments that were truer and stronger and better than those of their conquerors and oppressors. Hence originated the idea of their conquerors that they were the enemies of the human race. It was, then, for this reason, because, being indestructible and unassimilable, they had been obliged to consider the meaning and worth of other people's ideas and of facts, that Jerusalem came to be the definite spot upon which the fruitful contact of the different integers of the East with each other, and of West with East, of Europe with Asia actually took place. Here were collected, as into a focus, the knowledge and the circumstances which would engender the new sentiment that was to reverse the old one. The old one had been that of narrow exclusiveness. It could not have been otherwise. The only one that could be engendered by the new knowledge and the new circumstances was one of universal inclusiveness: not the idea of a peculiar people, such as the Egyptians had regarded themselves, but its very opposite, that of the universal brotherhood of mankind. We see the embryo of the thought endeavouring to assume form at Rome, at the very time that it was being preached with the sharpest and clearest definition at Jerusalem. But it never could have assumed its proper, clear, distinct form at Rome,

because morality would always there have been hazy and corrupt, and inextricably entangled with ideas of self and dominion. In Jerusalem only, the one true home of single-purposed morality, could it assume its true shape, pure, and undefiled. When the words were uttered, "Ye all are brethren," the idea was formulated. That was the moment of its birth. It then took its place in the moral creation, a living form, with life and the power of giving life; with power to throw down and to build up. This was the new commandment, the seminal idea of the new religion, and Jerusalem was the seed-bed, prepared for it by the long series of antecedent events, where it must germinate first. When that had been done, scions from it could be taken to other localities. But it is plain that, as moral instincts die hard, Jerusalem is also precisely one of the spots in which the new sentiment will meet with the most determined and violent antagonism; nor will it ever find there general reception, or, indeed, so much reception as among other races, where the instinct of repulsion had not been so completely and firmly established.

The new sentiment had to be evoked from man's inner consciousness, as it was acted upon and affected by the new order of things. This could not be done until the authority of this inner consciousness was recognized. This means a great deal. What it had come to regard as true and good was to be religion, as distinguished from written law, which is imposed by the State, has convenience and expediency for its object, and is limited in its purview by the necessities of its application, and by the ignorance and low sentiment of public opinion. The Christ-enlightened, God-taught, pure conscience is a better and higher and

more searching rule of life than any legislation. That would only drag conscience and life down again to the common level. To make that religion would be making Cæsar God. It would kill conscience, which aims higher, goes deeper, and sees farther than written statutes and enactments, however well meant, or wisely drawn. The new Religion, therefore, stood aloof from, and placed itself above, all existing legislation, except in the sense of submitting to it, and obeying it as a social necessity. But though it submitted and obeyed, it could not receive any written code as the rule of life. While, therefore, it recognized the rights and the necessities of the kingdoms of this world, it was itself to itself the law of a kingdom not of this world. The polity it created was not of them. It was God's kingdom among men. The kingdoms of the world might at some future time become the kingdoms of God, but at present Cæsar and God were distinct powers, and represented distinctly different applications of the principles of right. Cæsar's application was partial only, and, moreover, full of corruption; God's was all-embracing and incorrupt.

The day of trial had been long in coming, but it had come at last; and what we have been recalling to the reader's mind was what the wisdom of Egypt had now to confront. It was the apotheosis of the ideas men could now attach to the words, Truth, Freedom, Justice, Goodness, Knowledge, Humanity. These were of God, and made man one with God. The time, then, had come for the Hebrew bondman to be revenged: for the Hebrew invasion of Egypt. We may contrast it with the old Egyptian invasions of Syria, and with the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. It was a kind of invasion of which the wisdom of Egypt

could have formed no anticipation; and against which all the temples and priesthood of Egypt were as powerless as heaps of stones and dead men. It was an invasion of ideas which could now be understood, and of sentiments which could now be felt; and which were better than any the priests and priest-kings of old Egypt had in their day felt or understood; and the feeling and the understanding of which would utterly abolish all they had maintained. These ideas and sentiments had been proclaimed in the cities and villages of Judæa and Samaria as the new commandment, as the fulfilment of all religion. The whole Roman world was ripening for their reception. They were carried down into Egypt in the thoughts and hearts of those who had received them. They spread from mind to mind, and from heart to heart. The fugitive bondman, the cast-out leper had returned; but he had now come to bestow a glorious liberty, to communicate the contagion of regenerating ideas and sentiments, and of a larger and better humanity. The Hyksos had again come down into the old Nile land; but this time they came not to oppress, not to exact tribute, but to break bonds, and to enrich and to place men on a higher level than they had occupied before. This was an invasion to which Egypt, in all its thousands of years of national life, had never yet been exposed. Invasions of this kind can be very rare in the history of nations, and in the history of the human race; but if, when they do come, minds are prepared for them, they are irresistible. And so it was now with old Egypt. The old order of things passed away, and the new order of things came in its place. The priesthood, with all their lore, their science, their wisdom, their legitimacy of at least four thousand years, their

impregnable fortresses, their territorial supremacy, the awful authority with which a religion so old, that the memory of the world ran not to the contrary, invested them, passed away like a morning mist. The whole system fell, as the spreading symmetrical pine-tree falls, never to burst forth again into new life —the overthrow has killed the root, as well as all that had grown from the root. Even the very temples which, as the thought of the days of Rameses had phrased it, had been built for myriads of years, passed away with it, excepting the few which have been preserved to tell the history of what once had been.

All had been overthrown : but the Christian ideas and sentiments, which had done the work, were too grand and simple for Egypt, where the most inveterate of all instincts was for the mind to be swathed. And so the new revelation was soon obscured. The reaction came in the form of asceticism and theology.

But asceticism and theology are not religion ; or, at all events, not a religion which can inspire much nobility of soul, or which has any power and vitality, except under the circumstances which created it : and so this, too, fell, and the religion which superseded it— that of the Egypt of to-day — is, in its simplest expression, a reversion to the old oriental idea, which seems always to have been a necessity there, of authoritative, unchangeable legislation, combined, however, with the Christian idea of the brotherhood of mankind. The form in which the Christian idea has been incorporated in it is that of an universal religion, which gives no sanction to exclusive pretensions, either of nationality or caste.

It is natural for the traveller to wish that he could

behold Egypt in its old world order and glory; but he must console himself with the reflection that what perished in old Egypt was what deserved to perish—that is to say, what was narrow and false, and that all that was good, and true, and wise survived the crash. Of that we are the inheritors.

The fortunes and the future of the Christian idea and sentiment of the brotherhood of mankind, which gave the new doctrine so much of its power to overthrow the wisdom of old Egypt, interests and concerns us all. From the days of its first triumphs down to our own day it has been actively at work in Europe. Through all these centuries it has been gaining strength. The first logical deduction from it which, like its parent, becomes a sentiment, as well as an idea, is that of universal equality, for if all are brothers, then none is greater or less than another. The flower with which this offshoot blossoms is that of humanity. Under the old exclusive systems, which placed impassable barriers between peoples, cities, and tribes; and then between the classes of the same community; and had thus said to human hearts, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther; beyond this you may not—you must not—feel pity; beyond this hatred and repulsion, the sword, the torch, the chain are only to be thought of," the idea of humanity had been impossible: but when all men are recognized as in essentials equally men, that which makes them men assumes the definite form of this idea. "Honour all men"—that is, do all in your power to elevate every one you may come in contact with, and nothing that has a tendency to degrade any human being, whatever may be his complexion, blood, caste, or position was, we know, a very early injunction.

The greatest outward and visible achievement of the idea and sentiment of the brotherhood of mankind was the abolition of slavery and serfdom. This was effected very slowly. We are, however, rather surprised that so Herculean a labour should ever have been achieved by it at all. When we consider the inveteracy and the universality of the institution; that it was the very foundation on which society was almost everywhere built; that it was everywhere the interest of the governing part of the community, that is, of those who had power in their hands to maintain it; that in the early days of the new idea, it never soared so high as the thought of so great an achievement; and yet find, notwithstanding, that the old institution has fallen everywhere; that no combination of circumstances has anywhere been able to secure it; we begin to understand the irresistible force of the idea. This was the greatest of all political and social revolutions ever effected in this world.

The manifestations of the sentiments we are now thinking of have been very various, in conformity with the circumstances of the times, and the condition of those in whom it was at work. Some centuries ago it came to the surface in Jacqueries and Anabaptist vagaries. The last and the present generation have seen it in volcanic operation in French outbreaks and revolutions. It is the soul of American democracy. It is at this moment working, like leaven in a lump of dough, in the hearts and minds of all Christian communities. There is no man in this country but feels its disintegrating and reconstructing force. Every village school that is opened, every invention and discovery that is made, every book, every newspaper that is printed, every sermon that is preached, aids in propa-

gating it. Its continued growth and spread gradually deprive governing classes of heart, thus betraying them from within, and of a logically defensive position in the forum of what has now come to be recognised as public opinion. It is at this day the greatest power among men. The future, whatever it is to be, must be largely shaped by it.

Here the study of the wisdom of old Egypt teaches us much. One most useful lesson is that stability in human societies can be attained; but that, as the constitution and sentiments of European societies are now very different from the state of things to which the wisdom of Egypt was applied, we must make use of the Egyptian method in a manner that will be suitable to our altered circumstances. The method they adopted was that of eliminating the elements of political and social change, by arranging society in the iron frame of caste, and by petrifying all knowledge in the form of immutable doctrine. We cannot do this, and it would not be desirable for us to do it if we could. The obvious advantages of the Egyptian method were that, under the then existing circumstances, it secured order and quiet; and that it assigned to every man his work, and taught him how to do it. Its disadvantages were that ultimately it repressed all higher moral progress, denied all new truths, and consecrated what had become falsehood and injustice. It was also worked, though with a great immediate gain of power, from thorough organisation, yet with a great waste of the highest form of power, for it altogether overlooked natural aptitudes, and, quite irrespectively of them, decided for every man what he was to be, and what he was to do. We cannot suppose, on the one hand, that there are no other methods of securing social order and

stability than these; nor, on the other hand, that American democracy and Chinese mandarinism have exhausted all possible alternatives. This, however, is a problem we shall have to consider for ourselves. But here it will be enough for us to see that, even if it were within our power to attain to stability by the Egyptian application of the Egyptian method, the result would still be subject to the limitation of the rise of new ideas, and even of the propagation more widely throughout the community of existing ideas. These are absolutely irresistible. There is nothing under heaven, especially in these days of rapid and universal interchange and propagation of thought, which can arrest their progress. Their elements pervade the moral atmosphere, which acts on our moral being just as the air we cannot but breathe does on our bodily constitution.

We may also learn from this history that progress, about which there has been so much debate—some glorying in it, some denying it—is an actual positive historic fact. What we have been reviewing enables us, furthermore, to see precisely in what it consists. It does not consist in the abundance of the things we possess, nor in mastery over Nature. We may continuously be overcoming more and more of the hindrances Nature has placed in our path; we may be compelling her to do more and more of our bidding; we may be extorting from her more and more of her varied and wondrous treasures; but all this, in itself, possesses no intrinsic value. It is valuable only as a means to something else. The old Egypt of the Pharaohs might have possessed railways, power-looms, electric telegraphs, and yet the old Egyptian might have been, and might have continued to be for four thousand years longer, very much what he was in the

days of Sethos and Rameses. The modern Egyptian possesses all these things, and the printing-press besides, and yet is inferior, under the same sky and on the same ground, to his predecessors of those old times. The end and purpose of material aids and of material well-being are to strengthen and to develop that which is highest, and best, and supreme in man—that which makes him man. Otherwise it is only pampering and rendering life easy to so many more animals. The difference would be little whether this were done for so many such men, or for so many crocodiles and bulls. That which is supreme in man—which makes man a man—is his intellectual and moral being. If this has been strengthened, enlarged, enriched, progress has been made; he has been endued with new power; he has been raised to a higher level. History and observation show that without some amount of material advancement, intellectual and moral advancement is not possible, and that all material gains may be turned to account in this way. This is their proper place—that of means and not of ends. They are ever placing larger and larger proportions of mankind in the position in which intellectual and moral advancement becomes possible to them. That, then, to which they contribute, and which they make possible, is their use and purpose. Whoever makes them for himself the end, dethrones that within himself the supremacy of which alone can make him a true man. Every one who has done anything towards enriching, and purifying, and strengthening the intellect or the heart of man, or towards extending to an increased proportion of the community the cultivation and development of moral and intellectual power, has contributed towards human progress.

The greatest advance that has been made in the historic period was the implanting in the minds of men the idea, and in their hearts the sentiment, of the brotherhood of mankind. The idea and sentiment of responsibility dates back beyond the ken of history. Our observation, however, of what is passing in rude and simple communities where social arrangements and forces are still in an almost embryonic condition, leads us to suppose that it is an instinct developed by the working, the necessities, and the life of society. There belongs to our own times the scientific presentment of the idea of the cosmos, which, though a construction of the intellect, affects us also morally. Who can believe that even the oldest of these ideas is bearing all the fruit of which it is capable, and that it will have no account to give of even better fruit in the future than it has ever produced in the past? How wide then is the field, in the most advanced communities, for moral and intellectual, the only truly human, progress! How impossible is it to foresee any termination of this progress!

CHAPTER XXXII.

EGYPTIAN LANDLORDISM.

> Is there anything whereof it may be said, See this is new?
> It hath been already of old time which was before us.
>
> ——ECCLES.

LANDLORDISM, or the territorial system, which gives, generally throughout a country, the ownership of the land to one class, and the cultivation of it to another class, who pay rent for it, is often spoken of as something peculiarly English. We hear it said that this divorce of ownership from cultivation is unnatural. That it is bad economically, and worse politically. That attachment to the land, the great element of stability in political institutions, hardly exists under it. On the other side it is urged that it is a great advantage to a community to possess in its bosom a large class, far removed from the necessity of working for its support, which is therefore better able to set to other classes an example of refinement, and of honourable bearing; and of which many members will naturally desire to devote themselves to the service of the state, and of their respective neighbourhoods. We argue the point, as if the landlordism of England were almost something *sui generis*. This is a mistake. The same system was developed, only more fully and completely,

throughout Egypt more than three thousand years ago. There the whole acreage of the country was divided into rectangular estates. One third of these was assigned to the king, and the remaining two thirds, in equal proportions, to the priestly, and to the military castes. These estates were generally cultivated by another order of men, who, for the use of the land, paid rent to the owners.

It is a curious fact, that the Egyptian farmer paid the same proportionate rent which is paid by the British farmer of the present day. Rent in Egypt three thousand years ago, was one fifth of the gross produce. The circumstances of Egypt, of course, almost exclude the idea of average land, for any one acre anywhere was likely to be much the same as any other acre anywhere else, all being fluviatile alluvium similarly compounded. And all were subject to much the same atmospheric conditions. There could therefore be very much the same rent for the whole kingdom. But if the land did anywhere, from some exceptional cause, produce more or less, this was met by the system of paying a fifth. With respect to this country, however, we must talk of averages. The average gross produce of average farms here, is, I suppose, estimated in money, about eight pounds an acre; and the average rent of such a farm is about thirty-two shillings an acre. Just one fifth. Exactly the proportion that was paid as rent for the land they occupied, by the tenants of Potiphar, Captain of the Guard, and of Potipherah, Priest of On, Joseph's father-in-law. The same rent was paid by the occupiers of the farms on the royal demesne to Pharaoh himself.

It may also be worth while noticing how similar circumstances produced in those remote times, and in

our own, similar tastes and manners. Those old Egyptian landlords were not altogether unlike their English representatives. There are traces in them of a family likeness. They were much addicted to field-sports. You see this everywhere in the sculptures and paintings. You find there plenty of scenes of fowling, fishing, and hunting; of running down the gazelle, and spearing the hippopotamus; of coursing and netting hares, and of shooting wild cattle with arrows, and of catching them with the lasso. They had, too, their game laws. They were fond of dogs and of horses. They kept very good tables. They gave morning and evening parties. They amused themselves with games of skill and chance. They thought a great deal of their ancestors, as well they might, for a thousand years went but for little in the date of the patents of their nobility. They built fine houses, and furnished them magnificently. They paid great attention to horticulture and arboriculture.

If the estates in Egypt were all of the same size as the military allotments mentioned by Herodotus, and the probability is that they were, they must have been about ten acres each. This may be reckoned as fully equal to thirty acres here; for in Egypt the land is all of the best description, and is manured every year by the inundation; and two crops at least can every year be secured from it, the cultivation being almost like that of a garden under irrigation. This would be ample for those who cultivated their land themselves. Those who let it for a fifth would of course get that proportion of every crop. The man therefore who had forty-two estates, as we find it recorded of an old Egyptian on his tomb, had a very considerable income. It would be interesting to know how he came to

acquire so many estates; whether by inheritance, by purchase, or by favour of the Crown; whether there were any legal limits to the acquisition of landed property; and whether provisions were made for dispersing a man's accumulations at his death; for instance, supposing he had received several estates from the Crown, was he merely a life-tenant without power of absolute disposal, the estates reverting at his death to the Crown? What was the rule of distribution generally followed in their wills? How was the property of an Egyptian who died intestate, disposed of?

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CASTE.

Ne sutor ultra crepidam.——*Latin Proverb.*

In old Egypt, where we find the earliest development of Aryan civilization, every occupation was hereditary. In the United States, where we have its most recent development, no occupation is hereditary. In Egypt a man's ancestors from everlasting had practised, and his descendants to everlasting would have to practise, the same business as himself. In the United States it is a common occurrence for the same man to have practised in succession several businesses.

With respect to ourselves, it is a trite remark that in this country legislation is the only work that is designedly made hereditary. It is, however, obvious that this is an instance which is subject to considerable limitations both as to its hereditary character and as to its actual extent. For our legislator caste is always receiving into its ranks recruits from outside, and its legislative power is only a power that is exercised co-ordinately with that of an unhereditary chamber.

Circumstances, not positive institution, except indirectly, make our agricultural labourers very much of a caste. Those who are engaged in this kind of work are generally descended from those who have for many

generations been so employed. Multitudes of the class, however, escape from it.

The clergy of the Established Church to a great extent form a caste, but without hereditary succession. This caste character of the clergy is a result of their segregation from secular employments, and of their corporate perpetuity.

Serfdom had, in mediæval Europe, a similar effect, which was, at the same period, felt at the other extremity also of society, through the institution of feudal nobility.

But the most widely-spread form of the institution was that which now appears to us the most hideous of all human institutions, that of slavery. Still we cannot pronounce it unnatural, for we find it, at certain stages of their development, among all races of men; and even constituting a regular part of the economy of certain insects. In Europe it is difficult to believe that some of the early advances of society could have been made without its aid. It belongs to that stage when wealth, which gives the leisure which makes any degree of intellectual culture possible, can only be secured by binding down the many to compulsory toil for the few, and giving to them all that the many can produce in excess of the absolute necessaries of existence. The Homeric chieftain was the product of this arrangement. So were the highly-cultured Greeks of the age of Pericles. It was the same with the governing class in the period of Roman greatness. It is, in one view, a very complete form of the institution, because it embraces every member of the community, from the top to the bottom. It divides society into two castes, assigning to one leisure, culture, the use of arms, government; to the other, denying them all partici-

pation in these advantages and employments, it assigns absolute subjection, labour, and bare subsistence. The history of this institution is very instructive. It shows how, in human affairs, circumstances rule and decide the question of expediency; and even that it is impossible to predicate of matters of this kind good or evil absolutely. Here, at all events, is something (it is, in fact, the very mould in which a community is cast,) which at one time builds up society and at another overthrows it; which at one time is the cause and instrument of progress, and at other times retards or reverses it; which, under some conditions, is not unfavourable to morality, and under others immoral and demoralizing.

Of all these arrangements, then, we may suppose that they were, in their respective times, necessary and useful. They appear to belong to early and transitional stages of society, and not, if there be, or ever is to be, such a state, to its maturity. They mean either that every member of society is not yet fit to be trusted; or that society cannot yet afford to endow all its members with freedom and power, and that under such circumstances, more or less rigid restriction is an indispensable condition of life and growth.

In India the word for caste signifies colour. The castes are the colours. This connects the institution with conquest. Probably in Egypt it might have had the same origin. We have seen that it might have had. But this could not have maintained it through thousands of years. Nothing could have given it such vitality but its utility. Benefit of clergy is evidence of there having been a period in the history of modern Europe when only a very limited class was educated, and so it became the sole depository of the knowledge

of the times. As there was such a period in the history of those who had inherited the arts of Greece and Rome, and among them an easy style of writing, it could not have been otherwise in old Egypt. The difficulties of maintaining knowledge must at that time have been very great; and, as all knowledge was more or less connected with religion, it naturally fell into the keeping of the priests, who could see no advantage in communicating it to the profane vulgar. It was their patrimony, their inheritance. This at once preserved it and constituted its guardians a caste. The existence of one such a caste would make the general introduction of the system throughout the community natural and easy. It was obviously in such times the best way of maintaining the knowledge of every art as well as of religion itself. It also endowed society with a fixity and order nothing else could impart to it. Every man in the community was born to a certain definite condition and occupation, of which nothing could divest him, and which he never could abandon. This utterly extinguished all motives for, and almost the very idea of, insurrections and revolutions.

Such a state of society had, of course, certain easily-seen disadvantages, but it also had certain very considerable advantages. The chief of these was that just adverted to, that society, having paid the penalty of the restrictions and losses the system imposed, advanced with internal peace and order. These, when the system had once been disturbed, could never again be attained till society had arrived at the opposite, that is the Chinese, or American extreme, in which there is abolished, as far as possible, every vestige of the old system, even what might be called the natural and uninstituted caste of the ignorant. Caste through-

out from top to bottom or caste nowhere equally ensure domestic quiet. All between, every form of the partial application of the system, carries within itself the germs of social disquiet, dissatisfaction, and disorder. The history of all countries has been hitherto very much a history of caste. This is a point which has not been sufficiently kept in sight. The picture of social order maintained in ancient Egypt for several thousand years, as in India, astonishes us. Universal caste explains the phenomenon. There was nothing in the bosom of those great communities to suggest recourse to arms, except the occasional occurrence of religious innovations, or of dynastic rivalries.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PERSISTENCY OF CUSTOM IN THE EAST.

Meddle not with them that are given to change.——*Book of Proverbs.*

EVERY traveller in the East is struck with the obstinate persistency of forms of expression even, as well as of customs he meets with. In bargaining in the Khan Khaleel Bazaar, at Cairo, for an amber mouthpiece for a pipe, I had to go through the very dialogue which passed between Ephron and Abraham. I objected to the price. "Nay, then," replied the modern Hittite, "I give it thee. Take it, I give it thee." At last the price was agreed upon, and he took his money. Some time afterwards, at Jaffa, I noticed that a roguish hanger-on for odd jobs at the hotel was using identically the same words in an attempt he was making to get a friend I was with to give him for a box of oranges ten times the price they were selling at in the market only a couple of hundred yards off. I was struck at the coincidence, and, on mentioning the matter to one familiar with the ways of the East, I learnt that this pretended gratuitous offer of the article represented a regular recognized stage in the form of bargaining. For three thousand years, at all events, it has been in stereotype.

Marriages are arranged now, as they were in the time of Isaac and Rebekah, without the principals having seen each other.

Women in the East to-day wear the veil just as they did in the time of the Patriarchs.

The shoes are still taken off on entering holy places. The worshipper, in praying, still turns his face in the direction of the great sanctuary of his religion.

"Jezebel stimmied her eyes." So the Septuagint version has it. This translation was made at Alexandria by Jews. Their own wives and daughters had made them familiar with the practice, and with the word technically used to express it, and they very naturally and properly adopted the technical term in their translation. They again used it in the parallel passage of Ezekiel. The rendering in our English Bible of this incident in Jezebel's last toilet is misleading. It makes her "paint her face." This suggests the rouge-pot, and the cheeks, instead of the kohl-stick and the eyes. On the monuments we see that the ladies of old Egypt had the same practice. In the streets of the Cairo of to-day you find that the ladies of modern Egypt have retained it. The object of the practice is two-fold—to give prominency to the eyes, the most expressive feature, and to make the complexion of the face, by the effect of the contrast with the thus deepened darkness of the eyes, appear somewhat fairer.

The history of Joseph, I might almost call it the Josephead, the more distinctly to indicate my meaning, wears very much the appearance of an episode in a great national epic cycle, which had been handed down from the legendary age, and which must have been, as is still the case with oriental romances, in form prose,

though in style and spirit full of dramatic force and poetry. I can imagine the men and children sitting at the tent-door, and the women within, to hear its recital. Just such histories are now recited daily throughout the East. While their incidents interest and entrance the imagination, they teach history, morality, and religion. How pleasingly do their high moral aims, so simple and natural, so true and profound, contrast with the frivolous, mawkish, false, sensational sentimentality of the modern novel. If its dialogue and all its minutiæ of detail were heard for the first time at the date of the Exodus, it would still possess a very remote antiquity. Its ideas, style, form, and colouring supply almost a collective illustration of the obstinate persistency we are noticing in everything oriental. With the exception of slavery, which has lately been abolished by law in Egypt, though I understand the law is very imperfectly observed, this history may be read to-day just as if its object were to give a picture of the thought, feelings, and practices of modern Egyptian life. It is curious that in the story of the Two Brothers, the only old Egyptian romance we have recovered, and the papyrus manuscript of which is as old, at least, as the Exodus, we have every particular of Joseph's adventure with Potiphar's wife.

Jusuf, by the way, is one of the commonest names in Egypt. Among others of this name I met with was a lad, the most beautiful boy I saw in the East, who had been, I was told, donkey-boy to the Prince of Wales at Thebes, and who served me in that capacity on one of my visits to Karnak. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, David, and Solomon, of course in their Arabic forms, are all very common names. They must have been introduced at the time of the Mahomedan

invasion, unless the Christian invasion had brought them in some centuries earlier.

The modern Egyptians' ideas of unclean things and persons, of the obligation of washing hands before meals, and their practice, while eating, of sitting round the dish and dipping into it, were, we know, very much the same among the Hebrews.

The serpent charmer still charms the adder, as in the Psalmist's day, with neither more nor less of wisdom.

It was an enactment of the law given by Moses, that if a poor man pawned his clothes, they should be returned to him at sunset that he might have something to sleep in. So is it with the modern Arab, he passes the night in the clothes he had worn during the day.

Hospitality, the treatment of women, the relation of the sexes, respect for age and for learning, belief in dreams, the arbitrary character of the government, indifference to human suffering, absence of repugnance to take human life, and, indeed, almost all that goes to constitute what is distinctive in the life of a people, is the same now in the East as it was in the earliest days of which we have any record. The only difference appears to be that in the organisation of society, and the well-being of its members, there has been great and lamentable retrogression. For this our good friends, the Turks, are in no small degree responsible.

The perpetual change among Europeans in great things as well as in small—in manners and customs, in social ideas and practices, in dress, in laws, in ideas and forms of government—indicate the operation of widely different influences.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ARE ALL ORIENTALS MAD?

They hear a voice you cannot hear.
They see a hand you cannot see. —TICKELL.

A FRIEND of mine who has resided much among Orientals, and is very familiar with their ways of thinking and acting, is in the habit of affirming that he never had dealings with any one of them without soon discovering that there was a screw loose in his mind. Every mother's son of them, he thinks, is to some degree, in some way mad. The meaning of this, I take to be that their way of looking at, and estimating things, and feeling about them, is different from ours. They see what we cannot, and cannot see what we can. This is, I believe, very much a question of religion.

In the world of spirit a religion is a real, organic, living, acting entity. It animates, it subdues, it pervades, it colours, it guides men's minds and hearts. They breathe it. They feed upon it. They are what it makes them. Now, our religion is characterised by liberty. It leaves men to construct their own polities, and to devise for themselves the laws they are to live by. It obliges them to understand that they are the arbiters, and the architects of their own fortunes. It

leaves them free, from age to age, to battle about, and to construct their own theology, with the certainty that, whether the same, or different forms are used, it will always, in the end, be adjusted to the ideas of the age, and even of the individual. It appeals to men's own ideas of God, which vary as knowledge advances; and to the sense mankind have of what is just, and merciful, and lovely, and of good report. It does not define these things, for it supposes that the ideas of them are in man. It makes the light that is within the measure of duty. One of the general results of such a religion is, that it makes men capable of thinking, and desirous of doing so. It produces within them an habitual desire to see things as they are, and to conform their feelings and their conduct to realities.

The Oriental has adopted the system which is most diametrically opposite to this. He has no liberty of any kind. He must think, and feel, and live in accordance with, and every detail of his inner and outer life must be conformed to, what were the ideas of the Arab barbarians of twelve centuries ago. This is the procrustean bed on which the mind of every Oriental is laid. This, then, is what my friend's nineteenth century Christianity, or, if you prefer it, his nineteenth century ideas and feelings, have been brought into contact with—the ideas and feelings of Arab barbarians of twelve centuries ago. It would be somewhat surprising if he did not perceive something of lunacy in the minds of such people.

What struck me in the Oriental was a kind of childishness. Both men and women appeared to be only children of a larger growth. There was an expression of childishness in their features, and there were very perceptible indications of a corresponding

condition of their minds. It looked like moral and intellectual arrest. The manhood of the mind had never been called into exercise, and had, in consequence, become aborted. They never think. Why should they? All truth of every kind has already been fully revealed to them. To question what they have received, or to endeavour to attain to more, would be impious. They have hardly any occasion to act, for is it not Allah who directly does everything as it pleases Him, on the earth beneath, as well as in the heaven above? . . . There is in them a softness of expression which could not co-exist with activity, and firmness, and largeness of brain. Child-like, they believe anything and everything. The more wonderful and the more contradictory to Nature it may be, the more readily do they believe it. They have no idea of extorting the secrets of Nature. What good would it do them to seek to know anything or everything? Allah will reveal what he pleases, and when. Such knowledge would not promote their happiness. Their idea of blissfulness is that of the Arab of the desert. Shade and rest. Plashing fountains and delightful odours. Lovely houris. This is not the stuff that makes men.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE KORAN.

An quicquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipiatur.
——LEMMA.

WITH respect to the Koran, the Orientals are at this day in the position into which, as respects our Holy Scriptures, an attempt was made to bring our forefathers in the days of mediæval scholasticism. They believe that in their Sacred volume is contained all knowledge, either explicitly or implicitly. We have long abandoned definitively this idea. We have come to understand that the New Testament announces itself only as a moral revelation; and of that gives only the spirit, and not the letter; that is to say, that it does not profess to give, and, as a matter of fact, does not contain a definite system of law, but the principles only which should regulate such a system. It leaves us, therefore, to go not only for our astronomy to astronomers, and for our geology to geologists, but also for our municipal law to jurists and legislators, so long as what they propound and enact is not at discord with Christian principles. The Mahomedan, however, has not this liberty, for the Koran professes to contain an all-embracing and sufficient code. It regulates everything. This is very unfortunate; or, whatever it was at first, it has, in

process of time, come to be very unfortunate; for it makes the ideas—what we must regard as the ignorance rather than the knowledge of a more than half savage Arab of the seventh century—the rule by which everything in law, life, and thought is to be measured for all time.

While I was in the East I was full of commiseration for the people I saw bound hand and foot in this way. They are handsome, clean-limbed fellows, and quick-witted enough. There is in them the making of great nations. Power, however, is an attribute of mind, and mind cannot work unless it be free. While I commiserated them, I saw no hope for them. The evil they are afflicted by appears not to admit of a remedy; because while, for men who have advanced as far as they have, it is intellectual suicide to be faithful to such a religion, to be unfaithful to it has hitherto proved to be moral suicide.

Their ideas and sentiments on all the ordinary concerns and events of life, and, in short, on all subjects, are the same in all, all being drawn from the same source. So also are even their very modes of expression. There is a prescribed form for everything that occurs; of course, not drawn, in every instance, first-hand from the Koran, but, at all events, ultimately from it, for these expressions are what have come to be adopted by the people universally as being most in harmony with the spirit and ideas of the Koran. The words to be used at meetings and at partings, under all circumstances; the words in which unbecoming acts and sentiments are to be corrected and acknowledged; the words, in short, which are appropriate to every occasion of life, are all prescribed and laid up in the memory ready for use. God's name is rarely omitted in these *formulæ*, reference being

made sometimes to one of His attributes, sometimes to another, as the occasion may require. Sometimes a pious sentiment is to be expressed; sometimes a pious ejaculation will be the correct thing. But everybody knows what is to be said on every occurrence, great or small, of life.

Learning the Koran by heart is education. It is for this that schools are established. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are *de luxe*, or for certain occupations only. History and science, of course, have no existence to their minds.

They treat the material volume itself, which contains the sacred words, with corresponding respect. For instance, when carrying it they will not allow it to descend below the girdle. They will not place it on the ground, or on a low shelf. They will not, when unclean, touch it. They will not print it for fear of there being something unclean in the ink, the paper, or the printer. They will not sell it to any unbelievers, even to such partial unbelievers as Jews or Christians. And in many other ways, indeed, in every way in their power, they endeavour to show how sacred in their eyes is the Book.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ORIENTAL PRAYER.

> Like one that stands upon a promontory,
> And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
> Wishing his foot were equal to his eye.——SHAKSPEARE.

PRAYER is still in the East, just what it was of old time, a matter of prescribed words, postures, and repetitions. This, however, is only what it is on the outside, and it is not the outside of anything that keeps it alive, but what is within. It is there we must look for what gives life. We shall be misled, too, again, if in our search for life in this practice we suppose that what prompts it in them must be, precisely, the same as what prompts it in ourselves. In this matter of prayer it is very far from being so. Prayer with Orientals is the bringing the mind into close contact with the ideas of infinitude—infinite power, infinite wisdom, infinite goodness. It calls up within them, by an intense effort of the imagination, the idea of God, just as the same kind of effort calls up within ourselves any image we please. The image called up, whatever it may be, produces certain corresponding sensations and emotions. But none can produce such deep emotions as the idea of God : it moves the whole soul. The man who is brought under its influence is

prostrated in abasement, or nerved to patient endurance, or driven into wild fanaticism. It calms and soothes. It fills with light. It puts into a trance. Mental sensations may be pleasurable just as those of the body, and the deeper the sensation the more intense the satisfaction. In their simple religion these attributes of God are really and ostensibly the nucleus, the soul, of the matter. All things else are merely corollaries to and deductions from them—matter that is evidently very subordinate. Theirs is a religion of one idea, the idea of God.

Or we may put this in another way. We may say that prayer is with them the conscious presentation to their minds and the prostration of their minds before certain ideas, namely, the ideas of the different forms of perfect moral being, the idea of intellectual perfectness or complete knowledge, and the idea, belonging to the physical order, of irresistible power. Their conception of these ideas is, of course, not identical with ours, but such as their past history and the existing conditions of Eastern society enable them to attain to. We can separate this effort of theirs into two parts. First, there is the creation in the mind of these ideas of the several kinds of perfectness; and then there is the effect the holding of them in the mind has on the mind itself. That effect is the production in themselves of a tendency towards making these forms of moral being, such as they have been conceived, instinctive sentiments and instinctive principles of actions.

In this view prayer is, with the Oriental, the effort by which he both forms the conception of what is good and actually becomes good; both, of course, in accordance with the measure of what is possible for him.

But why, it may be asked, should he do this? All men who have lived in organized societies have done it; though, indeed, the character of the act has not in all been so distinctly moral as it is with the Oriental. Still it has been a natural ladder by which individuals and communities, and mankind generally, have mounted from lower to higher stages of moral being. It has been the natural means by which the moral ideas which the working of the successive stages of social progress suggested have been brought into shape, purified, disseminated, made universal and instinctive.

To dwell for a moment longer on the subject. The object of their prayer has been the highly compound abstraction of all, but more especially in the moral order, that would, according to their ideas and knowledge, contribute towards the upholding and building up of a human society. We see indications of this elsewhere besides among Orientals. In a democracy wisdom and counsel in the general body of the community are necessary, and so at Athens was worshipped Minerva. The maintenance and enlargement of Rome depended on the sword, and so the god of Rome was the God of War. The martial spirit and martial virtues were necessary to them. When concord became necessary a temple was erected to Concord. This also explains the deification of living Egyptian Pharaohs and living Roman emperors. Each was in his time the "*præsens deus*" of society. What was done was done by their providence.

Even revealed religion is not exempt from this necessity. When the existence of the Hebrew people depended on the sword Jehovah was the Lord of Hosts, the God of Battles. He taught the hands to war and the fingers to fight. He gave them the

victory over all their enemies round about. He made them a peculiar people, zealous of all the good works that would maintain society. At the Christian epoch, when the chief hope of the world was in peace and order, He was regarded as the institutor of civil government; and as having made all people of one blood, so that there could be no ground for anything exclusive. To deny these facts is to deny both history and the plain, unmistakable announcements of the Sacred Volume. And to reject the grand, simple, instructive explanation universal history thus gives is to refuse to accept that view of the working of providence in human affairs which God submits to our consideration, just as He does the order and the mind of the visible material world. It is, in fact, to refuse to be taught of God.

But to return to the modern Egypto-Arabs. To us there appears to be very little, surprisingly little, in their minds. They have but little thought about political matters, no thoughts about history, no thoughts about the knowledge of outward nature. Their ideas, then, of God, which are the summary of their religion, obtain full sway over them. Prayer is the continual exhibition of them to their minds. It stirs and keeps alive their hearts and souls. While these ideas are acting upon them they are conscious of an unselfish and sublime exaltation of their moral and intellectual being.

Prayer with us is a somewhat different matter in its source and in its effects. It is not an attempt to bring our inner nature into contact with the pure and simple idea of God. It is more of a personal and selfish matter. Our own wants, our own sins, are the animating ideas.

This will explain why they pray in set forms of words. Words represent ideas; and the prophet,

whose mind is in a state of extraordinary religious exaltation, and the general thought of religious teachers and of religious people, can, of course, better imagine the attributes of Deity, and clothe what they imagine in more appropriate words, than ordinary people could. It is, therefore, better to take their words than to leave the matter to the ignorant, the unimaginative, and the dead in soul. Under their system of set unchangeable forms all become alike animated by the best ideas, presented in the most suitable words. This will also explain why they practise repetitions. With their method it is a necessity.

Short forms, composed of as few ideas as a piece of granite is of ingredients, and as inelastic and inexpansive, and those forms incessantly repeated, could not affect us in the way of prayer; but they mightily affect the Oriental. They are both the frame in which his mind and life are set, and the spring upon which they are wound up.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PILGRIMAGE.

He hath forsaken his wife and children, and betaken himself to a pilgrim's life.——BUNYAN'S *Pilgrim's Progress.*

THE pilgrimage to Meccah occupies a large place in the thoughts, and is the great event in the life of every true believer; and where the faith is so elementary, so much reduced to the very simplest expression of belief, all are believers. The great event of the year at Cairo, is the return of the caravan of pilgrims from Meccah. The whole city is moved. Many go out to welcome back the happy saints. At no other time are men or women so demonstrative. In these days, no Christian people, except the lower classes in Russia, have the ideas which produce these emotions. No others are, speaking of the bulk of the people generally, in the pilgrim condition of mind. There was, however, a time when, in this matter, we were all alike. The pilgrim staff and shell were then as common and as much valued in England as elsewhere.

We now ask how these ideas came to exist in men's minds? An equally pertinent question is how they became extinct? A little vivisection, which may be practised on the mind of the modern Arab, will reveal to us the secret. On dissecting it we find that it is

in that state in which the distinction between things moral and spiritual on the one side, and things physical on the other, has not yet been made. These two classes of ideas are in his mind in a state of intimate fluid commixture. There is a vast difference here between the mind of the Arab and that of the European, excepting of course from the latter a large part of the Greek communion, and some small fractions of the most behindhand of the Latin. With us these two classes of ideas have disentangled themselves, and have separated themselves from each other. Each has crystallized itself into its own proper form, and retired into its own proper domain. Hence it is that the idea of the value of pilgrimages still holds its ground amongst them, but has disappeared from amongst us.

It belongs to precisely the same class of ideas as the belief that if a man drinks the ink with which a text of the Koran has been written, dissolved in a cup of water, he will be thereby spiritually benefited; that bodily uncleanness injuriously affects the soul; that having eaten some particles of dust from the Prophet's tomb makes you a better man; or to take the process reversely, that the thoughts of an envious or covetous man (the evil eye), will do you some bodily hurt; or that Ghouls and Afreets—creatures of your mind—feed on dead bodies, and throw stones at you from the house-top. When our Christian ancestors were in the same stage of mental progress, similar beliefs, or rather confusions of ideas, some identically the same, were manifested by them. A great advance has been made when men have come to see that what defiles is not what goes in at the mouth, but what comes from the heart. This has a wide application; at all events men, when it is seen, go no more pilgrimages.

I went up to Jerusalem with the ideas about pilgrimages I have just set down stirring in my mind. My object in going was that I might be enabled the better to understand history by making myself acquainted with the very scenes on which it had been enacted. I wished to become familiar with those peculiar local aspects and influences of Nature which had gone some way towards forming the character of those who had made the history, and which had, indeed, themselves had in this way much to do with the making of it. Nothing could be further from the pilgrim condition of mind. I believe, however, that I did not come away with my (as some would call it) cold-blooded philosophy quite untouched. True, I turned with repugnance from the scenes that presented themselves around the supposed Holy Sepulchre. I felt commiseration, mingled in some sort with respect, for the prostrations, the tears, the hysterical sobs of the poor Greek, Armenian, and Latin pilgrims. I contemplated them for a time, till feelings of pain preponderated, which, as I turned away, were exchanged only for feelings of disgust as I saw the priests, and thought of their frauds, their greed, their indifference, their dirt, and their mutual animosities. I again had to repress the same feelings in the Garden of Gethsemane, when I found it in possession of some unusually begrimed monks, who had enclosed it with a wall ten feet high, and without a single opening through which the eye could catch a glimpse of the interior, and who only admitted you in the hope of backsheesh. Still the pilgrim feeling grew upon me. I had crossed the Brook Kedron to a place where there had been a garden; I had stood in what had been the courts of the temple, and where had been the temple itself; I

had looked on the goodly stones of the substructures of the temple; I had beheld the city from the Mount of Olives. In my walks round the walls I had stood on the rock, somewhere at the north-west angle, where the Light of the World had sealed His truth with His life-blood. Imagination on the spot had recalled the particulars of the scene. Day by day I was conscious that the pilgrim feeling was gaining strength within me. And now that I am quietly at home again, I can hardly persuade myself but that I am in a different position from what I was in before: I can hardly think that I am just as other men are—that all this is nothing. I have trodden the same ground; I have been warmed by the same sun; I have breathed the same air, as He. I have looked on the same objects, and they have impressed on my brain the same images as on His.

But we must get over these pilgrim feelings—we must not allow ourselves to be juggled and cheated by the old confusion of things spiritual with things physical. There is no poetry in putting the chaff for the corn. There is no talisman like truth. He is not there: nor are we the nearer to Him for being there. He still exists for us in His words. The thought, the spirit that is in them we can take into our hearts and minds. This is truly to be very near to Him; this is to be one with Him. This is a pilgrimage all can go, and which really saves.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ARAB SUPERSTITIONS.—THE EVIL EYE.

Many an amulet and charm
That would do neither good, nor harm.
——HUDIBRAS.

THE traveller in Egypt, who observes what is before him, and feels an interest in conversing with the natives, will have many opportunities for learning something about their superstitious or religious ideas —for, of course, much that with them is religion with us would be superstition—such as their belief in charms and amulets, and in the beneficial or remedial efficacy of utterly irrelevant acts and prescriptions. This is a large—indeed, almost an inexhaustible—subject, because it pervades their whole lives, influencing almost everything they do, and every thought that passes through their minds. Whenever an Arab wishes to attain to, or to escape, anything, his method of proceeding is not to use the means—or if he does, not to be content with them—which, in the nature of things, would lead to the desired result, but either to depend entirely, or, at all events, as a collateral means, on something else which can have no possible bearing on his object, but which, in consequence of the presence in his mind of certain ideas,

and the absence of certain others, he thinks will have, or ought to have, some impossible effects.

Among Egyptians—it is so with all Orientals—there is an universal belief in the potency of the Evil Eye. If any one has looked upon an object with envious and covetous feelings, evil will ensue; not, however—and this is the heart and the peculiarity of the superstition—to the covetous or envious man, but to the coveted or envied object. I will attempt presently to explain this inversion of moral ideas. A mother in easy circumstances will keep her child in shabby clothes, and begrimed with dirt, in order that those who see it may not think it a beautiful object, and so cast an envious or covetous eye upon it. Some kenspeckle object is placed among the caparisons of a beautiful horse or camel, that the eye of the passer-by may be attracted to it, and so withdrawn from the horse or camel. The entire dress of a Nubian young lady consists of a fringe of shreaded leather, two or three inches deep, worn round the loins. On the upper edge of this fringe two or three bunches of small white cowrie shells are fastened. The traveller might, at first—and, probably, generally does—suppose that this is merely a piece of coquetry, inspired by the desire to attract attention. The truth is the reverse. The white shells against the ebon skin are, it is true, intended to attract attention—not at all, however, in the way of coquetry, but from the opposite wish that the eye of the passer-by may be attracted to the shells, and thus that the wearer may herself escape the effects of the evil-coveting eye.

There is the same motive in the adoption by women of gold coins as ornaments for the head. Let

the eye be attracted to that coveted and precious object, and diverted from the face. So, also, with the use of the veil, and so with many other preventive devices.

But as the source of the mischief is in the heart of the beholder, prevention may go further, and may dry up, if the effort be wisely made, the source of the evil at the fountain-head. This is to be done by so disciplining men's minds, as that they shall habitually refrain from looking on anything with envious or covetous thoughts. The method they have adopted for effecting this desirable change in the heart is to make it a point of religion and of good manners that a man shall so word his admiration as, at the same time, to express renunciation of any wish to possess the beautiful or desirable object before him that belongs to another. He must not express simply his admiration of it. It would be reprehensible for him to say of a beautiful child, or dress, or jewel, or garden, or anything that was another's, "How charming!—how beautiful!" He must associate his admiration with the idea of God, and with the acknowledgment that he submits to the behest of God that has given it to another. This he does by saying, "God's will be done (Mashallah)," or by some similar expression. If he should so far forget propriety as to express himself otherwise, the by-standers would recall him to good manners, and a proper sense of religion in the matter by reproving him.

But supposing all these preventive measures of strategy, religion, and politeness have failed, and the evil eye, notwithstanding, must needs alight on some object, what is to be done then? The only resource is in the recognized counter-agents. These are of two kinds—

those which have a prophylactic, and those which have a remedial efficacy. To the first belong some selected texts of the Koran, or the whole of the sacred volume, which must be enclosed in a suitable receptacle, and hung about the neck of the person to be protected. A little piece of alum has the same effect. Some have recourse to the ninety-nine titles of the Deity; others prefer the titles, equal in number, of the Prophet. These may be kept in the house, as well as about the person. Lane, who has an interesting chapter on Arab superstitions, tells us that the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and of their dog, and the names of the few paltry articles of furniture left by the Prophet, have great potency.

But supposing these, and other such prophylactics have failed, as must sometimes happen, in averting the evil eye, nothing remains then but the use of antidotes. One that commends itself to general adoption is, to prick a piece of paper with a pin, to represent the eye of the envious man, and then to burn it. Another that is equally efficacious is, to burn a compound of several pinches of salt stained with different colours, and mixed with storax, wormwood, and other matters: but I need not pursue this part of a single subject any farther. This will be enough to show their ideas as to the way in which the evil eye is to be combated.

And now for the explanation of what is to us the strangest part of the subject, that such a belief as this of the evil eye should have had any existence at all, because it involves the immoral idea that all the suffering falls on the innocent victim, and that there is no retribution for the guilty cause of the mischief. This has been brought about by the facts and experience of life in the East. There the evil eye has always

had a very real, and fearful significance, and people have done very wisely in endeavouring to guard against it. It never would have done in that part of the world, nor would it do at this day in Cairo, or anywhere else, even down to the most secluded village, for one to flaunt before the world what others might covet or envy him the possession of. The simple plan there has ever been that those should take who have the power, and that those only should keep who are not known to possess. A man who had a beautiful wife, or child, or costly jewel, or a showy horse, or camel, or anything good, if it were observed, and known, would at any time, in the East, have been pretty sure to loose it, and perhaps with it his own life into the bargain. This of course has been a master-fact in forming the manners and customs of the people. Hence their ideas about the evil eye. What befel Uriah and Naboth, has befallen many everywhere. Hence the wisdom of keeping good things out of sight, and of diverting attention from them. Hence the belief that the evil is for the innocent possessor, and not for the wicked envier or coveter. The method adopted for obviating its effects are, of course, merely the offspring of fear acting on ignorance.

I need not give any further illustrations of this condition of the Arab mind. A general statement will now be sufficient. Every evil that flesh is heir to, every ailing, every as yet unsatisfied yearning, every loss, every suffering, has its appropriate treatment, all of the same character as that which prescribes, for some moral obliquity in A's mind, that B should burn a piece of alum, or of storax, purchased on a particular day. Some of these practices are laughable,

some disgusting. Some of the latter class recall Herodotus's story of the means to which King Phero, in the days of old Egypt, had recourse for the recovery of his sight.

It is cheap to laugh at these ideas and practices; but we have ourselves passed, in this matter, through the same stage. We had our day of such remedies, when we attempted to cure diseases, and to dispel evil influences with charms and amulets; and to ensure success by having recourse to lucky days, and things, and names, and places. The memory of all this has not, even yet, completely vanished from amongst us. The echo of it may still at times be heard. The history of all people shows that these things contain the germ of the empirical art of medicine. The first step in real progress is the abandonment of the idea that disease is the irreversible decree of heaven or of fate. The second stage, that in which the Orientals now are, is the metaphysical treatment of disease; that is to say, that each disease is to be met by something which, from some fancied analogy, or fitness, it is supposed ought to counteract it. This is futile in itself, but not in its ulterior consequences, for it issues eventually in the discovery of the true remedies. In time, if circumstances favour, the subject comes to be treated scientifically. Every ailing is deliberately examined with the view of discovering in what it actually consists; and remedies are applied which, in accordance with the known laws and properties of things, it is reasonably hoped will prevent or remove it.

It is curious to observe, while we are on this subject, that homæopathy is only a reversion to old ideas. Its foundation is a metaphysical dictum that

like cures like. And its practice that these, or some other globules will in each case produce artificially the desired disease, is as contrary to the evidence of the senses and the known properties of the globules, as anything to be found in Arab therapeutics.

CHAPTER XL.

ORIENTAL CLEANLINESS.

Wash and be clean.——*II. Kings.*

On the subject of cleanliness, Orientals' ideas are the very reverse of what, to a time within the memory of the present generation of Englishmen, we entertained. Our idea used to be that it meant a clean shirt; theirs is that it means a clean skin. The Mr. Smith, who, some forty years ago, obtained his differentiating epithet from his practice of changing his linen three times a day, would probably, from unfamiliarity with the bath, have been regarded by Orientals, as might many a beau of that generation, as an insufferably dirty man. The annoyance Dickens represents an old lawyer in chambers as feeling at the daily splashings of the young barrister over his head, and his inability to imagine how sanity of mind or body could be compatible with such a practice, fix the date, now about thirty years ago, when our manners and customs were changing on this point.

The old oriental ideas, which go so much further towards satisfying the requirements of the case, are still carefully maintained. In order that they may become habitual and universal, they have been made imperative by religion. The when, the where, and the how have all been prescribed. The shaving also of the head,

the plucking out of hair and use of depilatories and circumcision, which is practised even by the Christian Copts, are customs which, though not imposed by religion, are generally observed because they contribute to the same object as their frequent and scrupulous ablutions.

With these practices we must class their ideas about the uncleanness of dead bodies, and the defilement contracted by contact with them; for, of course, the idea of defilement had its origin in the fear of what might engender or convey disease.

The persistent oriental aversion to knives and forks may be connected with the subject. The disinclination to use them may arise out of an uncertainty as to whether they may not have contracted defilement, which might sometimes mean the power of conveying infection. The leprosy of the East and the cutaneous diseases of that part of the world—almost all the diseases mentioned in the Old Testament are more or less of this kind—are at the bottom of these ideas and practices. On the whole, we can have no doubt but that if they were as uncleanly and careless about these matters as a large portion of our own population, the range of many bad diseases—climate and meagreness of diet being their predisposing causes—would be very greatly extended. As things, however, are, it is pleasing to observe how carefully all classes in the East attend to personal cleanliness. The poorest, even those who cannot afford a change of clothes, do not appear to neglect it. The stoker of an Egyptian steamer does not look like a stoker throughout the whole of the twenty-four hours; nor would, if there were such people, an Egyptian chimney-sweep never be seen without the grime of his work.

CHAPTER XLI.

WHY ORIENTALS ARE NOT REPUBLICANS.

That grass does not grow on stones is not the fault of the rain.
——*Oriental Proverb.*

It seems strange that Republicanism should never have commended itself to the minds of Orientals. Some of the conditions to which they have been subjected, and some of their ideas ought, one might have thought, to have engendered the wish to give a trial to this form of polity. Socially, ideas of aristocratic exclusiveness have little weight with them, and, politically, none at all. The expression of "taking a man from the dung-hill and setting him among princes" is old, and represents an old practice, and it is a proceeding with which they are to this day in their government, and the hierarchy of office, quite familiar. This ultra-democratic idea of the equal fitness, even for the highest places, of men taken from any class in society, offends none of their sentiments or instincts. They would not be shocked at seeing one who had begun life as a donkey-boy or barber, so long as he was an Arab, or Osmanlee, and a true believer, raised to be a Pasha. Then, too, no people in the world have suffered so much and so long from their respective governments as the Orientals have from their despotic monarchies,

administered by a descending series of hardly responsible governors. And as to general manners and ideas, there is probably a greater amount of uniformity in the East among all classes than is to be found elsewhere. One might have supposed that all this, at one time or another, sooner or later, would have disposed them to take refuge in Republicanism. We have, however, no instance of the idea having been entertained. It seems as if they had no capacity for apprehending it, for the account Herodotus gives us of the proposal to democratize the Government of Persia is a transparent Greek fable. At all events, taking the story as we have it, the mover was unable to find a seconder for his proposal.

This phenomenon in their history surprises us : it is, however, their history which enables us to understand it, and to understand it completely. They never possessed a legislature. This, which every little Greek city possessed, which was the very soul of Greek political life, and has ever been, more or less, a necessity of European political life, never could have been known in the East. There the idea never had any place in men's minds; or, if it had, was aborted in the embryo stage, and never saw the light. In short, with them a legislature was an impossibility; for, as their laws have always been a revelation from God, any attempt to legislate would have been nothing less than a direct and formal denial and renunciation of their religion.

In their systems, therefore, there has been room only for the administrative and executive departments of government. These, of course, are secondary. With that which was first and highest, and regulative of the whole, man had nothing at all to do. Under such a state of things the administrative and executive would

naturally fall into the hands of those who were best acquainted with the law, that is, of those who were its constituted guardians, as priests, elders, doctors of the law, &c., and of those who in any way, by force or favour, could attain to power and office. Here is no place for republican or democratic ideas. The whole ground in every man's mind is pre-occupied with ideas that are antagonistic to them. If Orientals had had to make their own laws, republicanism would have been as common in the East as in the West; perhaps more so.

In the Mosaic polity, though it was in some respects very favourable to democracy, we see the absence of the legislative function leading necessarily in the end to a monarchy; the monarchy having been preceded by a rude exercise of administrative and executive functions, based in the main on moral and intellectual qualifications. That the people in general assemblies, or through any other machinery, should take into their own hands the management of their own affairs was an idea that never at any time appears to have occurred to them. It was alien to their system to imagine that the will of the people was the source of power; or that law was the best reason of the community made binding on all.

One can hardly understand, without some personal observation, and thinking out what has been observed, how completely these Oriental systems extinguish liberty in every matter. Not only do they deny to nations the right to frame their laws in conformity with the varying needs of times and circumstances, but they even abrogate the liberty of the individual to exercise his own judgment with respect to almost everything he has to do, and almost to say, throughout life. Law

being a fixed immutable thing, it becomes unavoidable but that customs and manners should be equally fixed and immutable. The extent to which this is carried is, till one has witnessed it oneself, something difficult to believe, indeed to understand. Every thought and emotion must be swathed up in a certain prescribed form of words. The mummy of an Egyptian of the old times tightly bandaged, stiff and lifeless, is the image of the modern Egyptian's mind. He has no kind of freedom. He is but a walking and breathing mummy. Here, then, there is nothing which can cause the idea of political liberty to germinate. Let the seed be sown again and again, it will fall always upon the rock.

CHAPTER XLII.

POLYGAMY.—ITS CAUSE.

Præsto maturo, præsto marzo.——*Italian Proverb.*

THE traveller is struck with the various ways in which the relation of the sexes that obtains throughout the East has modified the manners and customs and the whole life of the people. Female society is impossible. Women are not seen in the mosks at times of prayer; and, we are told, are seldom known to pray at home, never having been taught the ceremonies requisite for prayer. One may walk through a crowded street and not see a woman among the passers by. A woman cannot, in the regular order of things, see the man who is to be her husband, or hold any converse with him, till the marriage contract is executed and she has entered his house. Nor after marriage can she, with the exception of her father and brothers, have any social intercourse with men. One cannot but ask what it is that has given rise to manners and customs so opposite to all we deem wise and desirable in this matter. We see at a glance that they are the offspring of distrust and jealousy, and of a distrust and jealousy which, though unfelt by ourselves, exist in a high degree among Orientals. What, then, is it that gives rise in them to these unpleasant feelings? It must be some fact which not only has

the power of producing all this distrust and jealousy, drawing after them consequences of sufficient reach to determine the whole character of the relations of the sexes to each other, but it must also be something that is peculiarly their own. Now, all these conditions are fulfilled by polygamy, and by nothing else.

The fact that a man may possess a plurality of wives, and as many odalisques as he can afford and may wish to have; is the one element in oriental life to which everything else must accommodate itself. Reverse the case, and, setting aside exceptional instances, consider what, on the ordinary principles of human conduct, would be the general working of the reverse of the practice. What would be the state of things, and the customs and manners which would naturally arise, if the wife had to retain the affections of a plurality of husbands? Would not, in that case, each woman, supposing they had the power of establishing and enforcing what regulations they pleased, take very good care that her husbands should have as little as possible to do with other women? Would the singular wife allow the plural husbands to see or converse with any woman but herself? Would she not confine them in the men's apartments? Would she allow them to go abroad unveiled? The distrust and jealousy the women, under such arrangements, would feel have, under existing arrangements, been felt by the men. They have acted on these feelings, and hence have been derived the manners and customs of the East in this matter.

There is nothing in the objection that all do not practice polygamy. All may practice it, and that is the condition to which the general manners and customs must adjust themselves. What all recognise as

right and proper, and what all may act upon, is what has to be provided for.

But we have not yet got to the bottom of the matter. Certain manners and customs may be seen clearly to be the consequences of a certain practice. The subject, however, is not fully understood till we have gone one step further and discovered what gave rise to the practice. The attempt is often made to dispose of this question offhand, by an assumption that passion burns with a fiercer flame in the East than in the West. This is what a man means when you hear him talking of the cold European and of the fiery Arab, the supposed excessive warmth of the constitution being credited to the fervour of the Eastern sun. There is, however, no evidence of this in the facts of the case, nor does it account for them. If this is the true explanation, we ought to find polyandry practised as well as polygamy. But there is no evidence that this flame burns with a fiercer heat in Asia than in Europe. The probability is that it is what may be called a constant quantity.

In investigating this, just as any other matter, what we have to do is to ascertain the facts of the case, and then to see what can be fairly inferred from them. Now, undoubtedly, the main fact here is that there is a certain polygamic area. It is sufficiently well defined. It embraces North Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Persia. The monogamic area of Europe is equally distinct. Asia Minor is an intermediate, indeterminate region, which, though it is an outlying peninsula of Asia by situation, approximates more closely to Europe in its general features.

Now this polygamic area has one pervading, predominant, physical characteristic : it is a region of dry

sandy deserts, or, rather, it is one vast sandy desert, interspersed with habitable districts. This renders its climate not only exceptionally dry, but also exceptionally bright, which is not an immaterial point, and, too, exceptionally scorching. An excess, then, of aridity, light, and heat, is its distinguishing peculiarity. These influences are all at their maximum in Arabia, which is in every way its true heart and centre; and, in particular, the seed-bed and nursery of the race best adapted to the region, and which, at last, flooded the whole of it with its blood, its customs, and its laws. These are all thoroughly indigenous and racy of the soil—as much its own proper product and fruit as the date is of the palm, or the palm itself of the region in which it is found.

But of the woman of this region. It is an obvious result of the aridity of the air, its almost constant heat, and of the floods of light with which everything living is ceaselessly bathed and stimulated, that she is, in comparison with the woman of Europe, forced into precocious development and maturity, and consequently, which is the main point, and, indeed, the governing element in the matter, into premature decline and decay. To signalize one particular that is external and visible, this climate appears to expand, to dry, to wither, to wrinkle the skin with a rapidity and to a degree unknown in our more humid and temperate regions. A woman, under these trying influences, is soon old. Between nine and ten is the age of womanhood. Marriage even often takes place at this age, or soon after. She is quite at her best at fifteen; decay is visible at twenty; there are signs of age at twenty-five.

Men, too, from reasons easily explained, marry

much younger there than is customary—I might say than is possible—with us. Our civilization is based on intellect far more than theirs, and it takes with us a long time for a youth to acquire the knowledge he will find requisite in life. School claims him, with those who can afford the time, till he is eighteen, and with many the *status pupillaris* is continued at the university for three years longer: and no one would think that even then the age for marriage had arrived. And here again much more is required for supporting life through all ranks of society. This is another prohibition against a young man's marrying early. He must first work himself into a position, in which he will have the means of maintaining a family in the way required here, or wait till he has a fair prospect of being able to do so. All this requires time; but in the East, where wants are few, and not much knowledge is needed, a youth may marry very early. I saw at Jerusalem the son of the Sheik of the Great Mosk of Omar, who was then, though only a lad of sixteen years of age, already married to two wives.

And so it follows that, in this region, before men have attained to even the prime of life, their wives are getting old. A necessary consequence of this must be that polygamy will come to be as natural as marriage itself. It has, at all events, been so hitherto.

The facilities for divorce which law and custom provide in these countries (all that is needed is a writing of divorcement) are a result of the same causes: they are, in fact, a corollary of the practice of polygamy. They enable both the man and the woman to escape from what, under the system of polygamy, must often become an insupportable situa-

tion, and have the practical effect of making marriage only a temporary arrangement. Indeed, sometimes even before the marriage contract is entered into, the law of divorcement is discounted in this way by the mutual agreement of both parties.

That "age cannot wither her" is, then, precisely the opposite of being a characteristic of an Arab woman. Had it been otherwise with her, polygamy would never have been the practice over this large portion of the earth's surface.

In our dull and humid climate opposite conditions have produced opposite effects. Here the woman arrives slowly at maturity; and, which is the great point, fights a good fight against the inroads of age. Man has no advantage over her in this respect. The consequence here is that men have felt no necessity for maintaining a plurality of wives. *Voilà tout.*

Nature it is that has made us monogamists. No religion that has ever been accepted in Europe has legislated in favour of the opposite practice, because it was obvious, and all men were agreed on the point, that monogamy was most suitable to, and the best arrangement for us. The exceptional existence of the Arabic custom in European Turkey is one of those exceptions which prove a rule.

Suppose that, in the evolution of those up and downs to which our earth's surface is subject, it is destined that the waves of the ocean shall again roll over the vast expanse of the Sahara. Then every wind that will blow from the west, or the south-west, over the present polygamic area, will be charged with moisture, and will bring clouds that will not only give rain, but will also very much diminish the amount of light which is now poured down upon it. Suppose,

too, something of the same kind to have been brought about with respect to the great Syro-Arabian desert. Northerly and easterly winds will then also have the same effect. What now withers will have become humid. There will be no more tent life. Better houses will be required, more clothing, more food, more fuel. Men will not marry so early. Women will not get old so soon. Polygamy will die out of the region. A new religion will arise to harmonize, to codify, to sanction the new ideas, which the new conditions and necessities have engendered. That religion will forbid polygamy.

CHAPTER XLII

HOURIISM.

Married not mated.——*Old Saying.*

THERE are some aspects and incidents of the subject of the preceding chapter which, though one would prefer passing them by unnoticed, cannot be omitted from an honest attempt to sketch the peculiarities of Eastern life. For instance, in the Christian heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage. Of this everybody approves: at all events one never met or heard of a Christian who wished it otherwise. In the Mahomedan heaven, however, those who have kept the faith, and lived holy lives will be rewarded with houris, damsels whose earthly charms have been perfected for the hareems of Paradise. This article of his faith is of such a nature that it colours all the believer's conceptions of the bliss not only of the life that is to come, but also of the life that is now. The vision of these companions, as bright as stars, and as many in number, is so attractive and so engrossing, that all other thoughts of Paradise die out of the mind and heart by the side of it. It is enough. It is Paradise. And if so, then the houris of earth are the paradise of earth.

I have been told by men who have resided long in the East, and have had good opportunities for knowing

the people well, that the facts of life there have conformed themselves to this anticipation. The houris of earth are the end-all and be-all of oriental life. Unlike anything amongst ourselves, it is with a view to them that the arrangements of oriental houses are designed. No wonder men think they cannot make too much of, or guard too carefully, this treasure, for heaven itself will not give them anything better. Each, therefore, at once makes for himself in this matter, as far as his means allow, a present paradise. I have lately mentioned that the Sheik of the Great Mosk of Omar at Jerusalem introduced to me his son, a lad of sixteen, who was already the master of two houris. It is said at Cairo that this part of the present Kedivé's household does not at all fall short of what might be expected of the ruler of Egypt. To oriental thought there is nothing incongruous, nothing unbecoming in their Prophet, the chosen recipient of the Divine mind, and the most absorbed in holy things, having been a matrimonial pluralist.

This is the very opposite to a sentiment with which the European world has been made familiar: the sentiment that husband, or wife, cannot be loved, except at the expense of the love of God; that it would be well if love were no worse than of the earth earthy; that those who do life-long violence to this master passion of our nature, who trample upon it, and endeavour to extinguish it, who put in its place such feelings as minds that do this despite to Nature can alone originate, are better, and purer, and holier, than those who accept the duties and cares and happinesses of wedded life. It is strange that these ideas, which, through a natural reaction, had their birthplace in the East, are now most alien to oriental modes of thought.

Orientals are not more luxurious than ourselves. The difference is that their luxury is directed more exclusively to one object, and that that one object is of such a nature as to make their luxury more enervating than ours. Their luxury is houris, and all that appertains to them; and all that contributes to investing their society with a halo of sensuous delights; gorgeous apartments; plashing fountains; shady, and colour-enamelled gardens; exquisite odours. Our universal luxury does not relax the fibre of our minds and bodies as much as their one particular luxury does theirs.

We may bring ourselves to understand, to some extent, how this system acts on Orientals by picturing to our thought how it would act on ourselves. Take the first fifty men you meet in the Strand, or see coming out of a church. Look into their faces, and endeavour to make out what you can about them from their appearance. They are evidently most of them married men. This means with us that their bark of life, as respects one most important matter at all events, is now moored in harbour. Hope and fortune are words that, in this matter, have no longer any meaning for them. They have accepted the situation, and have ceased to think about houris. Each has taken his wife for better, for worse; for sickness and for health, till death shall part them. Their thoughts are now about their business, their families, their pursuits, their society. But what a change would come over the spirit of their dreams if each could have as many houris as he pleased and could afford, of one kind or another, houris ever fair and ever young; and could dismiss at any moment any he wished, for any reason, to be rid of, by the simple form of a writing of divorcement: no more

trouble in it than in making an entry in one's pocket-book, and as exclusively one's own affair; and could dismiss some without even this small formality of the writing of divorcement. Under such circumstances the houri question, which now has no place in the thoughts of one of these worthy members of society, would straightway occupy in the minds of many of them the first place of all. It would then become necessary that a complete end should be put to many things that no harm comes from now. These staid and respectable gentlemen would soon find that houris must be excluded from churches, as Orientals have found that they must be from Mosks, during the time of divine service, because, under the new system, it would be impossible for them to be devout when surrounded with houris. Neither could houris be any longer domestic servants in our fashion. Houris also must be excluded from society; nor would it be admissible for houris to appear in public, or anywhere, except in the presence of their lords, with unveiled faces. A little exercise of the imagination enables us to see what the metamorphosis would be in ourselves. And on the Oriental the effects of the system are even greater, because he has no political life, less pre-occupation from business than we have, and none of those pursuits and employments for the mind which our education and the state of knowledge amongst us give rise to here.

As we were returning to Cairo by the river, we passed the corpse of a woman floating on the water. Every European of the party felt pity for her fate, and for her fault. Had it been possible we would gladly have given sepulture to these dishonoured remains of our common humanity, from which the Divine inmate

had been expelled so cruelly. Such sentiments, however, are unintelligible to the Arab mind. The dogs and the vultures, they think, will give sepulture good enough to one who has brought disgrace so stinging on father, brothers, and husband. No pity have they for the fallen. No consciousness of failings of their own.

This is evil. But perhaps it might be more evil to care for none of these things. Indifference might be worse than hardness. Indifference would mean moral decay and rottenness. Hardness here is moral indignation, kindling up into an uncontrollable flame, which burns up, like stubble, all other feelings. These are simyle-minded people, and they feel strongly within their narrow range of feelings.

Something perhaps might be said in extenuation of the fault of this poor frail one, whose punishment, if it were not greater than her fault, was still the extremest man can inflict. What agonizing moments must those last ones have been when, not weakened by slow disease or broken by days spent in long imprisonment, but fresh from her home, in the flower of youth, and Nature's pride of strength, she was being dragged away to the dark river, and by those God had made nearest and dearest to her. Her brothers are foremost in the work. There is not a heart in all the world, except, perhaps, of one whom she dare not think of now, that is touched with pity for her. Brothers are turned to worse than tigers, for they never did to death their own kin, or even their own kind.

But under such a system there must be some, among those who have wealth and leisure more than enough, who will fall. Women, like men, are only what the ideas in their minds make them. Every idea that is

implanted or springs up in the mind may be regarded as a living thing. It has the attributes of life. It roots itself in the brain; it feeds and assimilates what it feeds on; it grows; it ramifies; it bears fruit; it propagates itself after its kind; it carries on the Darwinian conflict for life with other ideas. If not killed itself it may kill them. It may develop itself abnormally. It may get possession of an undue proportion of the ground.

These are general properties. But each particular idea has also, precisely as the various species of plants have, its own special properties. Some are beneficent, and these are beneficent in various ways. Some are poisonous, and these are poisonous in various ways. Some bear little fruit, some much. Some are serviceable to all, some only to a few. Some are feeble, some strong. Some are bitter, some sweet. Some burn, some soothe. Some are beautiful, some unsightly. Some can stand alone, some need support.

Every brain is a world any of these may grow in, and in which some must grow. For the seeds of some are carried about in the air. The seeds of others circulate in the blood. Others come from the heart. Some also are the growth of good seeds deposited in the mind by human intention and care.

What, then, are the ideas which have been implanted, or have somehow come to exist in the minds of these inmates of the hareem? As a rule they have been taught nothing. Not even their religion. They have not been permitted to enter a Mosk at the time of prayer. All the ideas which get established in the minds of educated women in our happier part of the world, through some religious instruction, through some acquaintance with history, or art, or science, or poetry,

or general literature, have never had a chance in the minds of the ladies of Cairo. They were left to those ideas, the germs of which float about in the air, or circulate in the blood, or come from the heart. And the only air that could convey ideas to them was that of the hareem; first of the hareem in which they were brought up, then of the hareem in which they must pass the remainder of their days. They have never breathed, and will never breathe, any other air. And as to the ideas, the germs of which are in the blood, and which come from the heart, they never had any chance of regulating them. Womanhood came upon them at the age of ten. Many were married at twelve. Why, before it could have been possible, had the attempt been made, for them to receive the ideas that come from religion, literature, poetry, science, art, or history, the germs that come from the blood and from the heart had got possession of the whole ground, and had absorbed all the nutriment the ground contained. There was no room for, nor anything to feed, any other ideas: for them time was necessary, and that it was impossible to have.

No wonder, then, that the lords of the hareem suppose the ground incapable of producing anything better. Under the circumstances perhaps they are right. Hence comes their thought that a woman is a houri, a toy: nothing more. But a toy that is very liable to go wrong: perhaps they are right again under the circumstances: and so must be carefully guarded. All experience, however, teaches that there is nothing so difficult, almost so impossible to guard. The guardians are often useless; often, indeed, the intermediate agents in the very mischief they were to guard against. And so the toy goes wrong. And then it must be ruthlessly

crushed. The men have their business, their money-making, their ambition, their society, their religion. In their minds all these implant counteracting ideas. And yet all these we are told are with them sometimes feeble in comparison with the ideas that come from the blood. How, then, can we wonder that the frailer and more susceptible minds, being absolutely deprived of all counteracting influences, should at times become the victims of their susceptibility and frailty? Nor need we be surprised that, when detected, their brothers and fathers and husbands should avail themselves of the permission given both by law and custom to wipe out their disgrace by putting out of sight for ever the cause of it. Disgrace they feel keenly; and pity is not one of their virtues.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CAN ANYTHING BE DONE FOR THE EAST?

Well begun is half done.——*Old Saying.*

CAN the oriental mind be roused into new life and activity? Can it be made more fruitful than it has proved of late, in what conduces to the well-being of communities and of individuals? I see no reason why Egypt and Syria should not, in the future, as they did in the past, support populous, wealthy, and orderly communities, which might occupy a creditable position, even in the modern world, in respect of that moral and intellectual power which is the distinguishing mark of man. What might bring about this desirable result among them could only be that which has brought it about among other men.

The first requisite is security for person and property. No people were ever possessed of this without advancing, or were ever deprived of it without retrograding. The pursuit of property is the most universal, and the most potent of all natural educators. It teaches thoughtfulness, foresight, industry, self-denial, frugality, and many other valuable, if secondary and minor virtues, more generally and effectually than schools, philosophers, and religions have ever taught them. But where the local Governor, and the tax-

collector are the complete lords of the ascendant, the motive to acquire property is nearly killed; and where it does in some degree survive, it has to be exercised under such disadvantages, that it becomes a discipline of vice rather than of virtue. Such, for centuries, has been the condition, under the rule of the Turk, of these by nature, in many respects, highly-favoured countries. The first step, then, towards their recovery must be to give them what they never have had, and never can have, we may almost affirm, under Eastern despots, perfect security for person and property. That would alone, and in itself, be a resurrection to life. It would lead on to everything that is wanted.

A subsidiary means might be found in (which may appear to some equally, or even more prosaic) a larger and freer use of the printing press, that is, of books and newspapers. This would naturally follow the security just spoken of. It would, however, be desirable in this fargone and atrophied case, if some means for the purpose could be found or created, to anticipate a little, to put even the cart before the horse, and to introduce at once, I will not say a more extended use, but the germ of the use of books and newspapers. I am afraid the effort would be hopeless, as things are now; and I know it would spring up of itself if things were as they ought to be. Still the effort might be made. It is the only useful direction in which there appears to be at present an opening for philanthropic work.

And, to speak sentimentally, what country has a more rightful claim to the benefits of the printing press than Egypt? It is only the modern application of the old Egyptian discovery of letters. To carry back to Egypt its own discovery, advanced some steps farther, is but a small acknowledgment that without

that discovery none of our own progress, nor much, indeed, of human progress of any kind, would ever have been possible. There are a printing press and even a kind of newspaper at Cairo, and, of course, at Alexandria; and at Jerusalem it is possible to get a shopkeeper's card printed. But what is wanted is to confer on the people, to some considerable proportion—if such a thing be possible—the power of reading, and to awaken within them the desire to read. No efforts, I think, would be so useful as those which might have these simple aims.

The great thing is to stir up mind. Events and circumstances do this naturally, by self-acting and irresistible means; and literature is one of the spontaneous fruits of the stirring of mind they give rise to. And the work does not stop there; for literature re-acts on the mental activity which produced it. It stimulates to still greater exertions; and, what is more, it guides to right, and useful, and fruitful conclusions. Perhaps it is hopeless to attempt to get literature to do its work when the conditions which are requisite for producing a literature are absent, but the attempt might be made. There is nothing else to do now.

This process is seen clearly enough in history. Look at Athens. Its greatness produced its literature; and its literature supported and advanced its greatness. Public life, of course, at Athens was such that many things there gave increased power to literature; and some in a way acted as substitutes for it. The public assemblies, the administration of justice, the schools of philosophy, the theatres, were to the Athenians, to a great extent, what books and newspapers are to us. They were a machinery by which the thought and the knowledge of those who,

more or less to the purpose, could think, and who had knowledge, were brought into contact with the minds of all; so that all were put in the way of thinking and of attaining knowledge for themselves, and were obliged, to some extent, to do it: and thus the thought and the knowledge of the best men became the thought and the knowledge of all, or were, at least, submitted to the attention of all. And so knowledge went on increasing, and thought went on achieving fresh conquests, and Greece became the Holy Land of mind.

Every one can see how large a share in producing the mental activity of the Americans must be assigned to books and newspapers. Facts, and men's thoughts about these facts, are each day laid before the minds of a greater number of men and women in the United States than elsewhere. Take away this apparatus for awakening and guiding thought, and their wonderful mental activity would disappear. As it is, all the counteracting influences of the rough and hard life most of them have to live cannot repress it. Suppose as large a proportion of our own population could read, and that they were treated in the same way—that is to say, that an equal amount of seed was deposited in their minds, and an equal amount of light, air, and warmth poured in—then I doubt not but that we should see, down even to the lower strata of society, an equal amount of mental activity.

This is a wide and fruitful subject. It is by the aid of this Egyptian discovery of letters, and of letters only, no one other thing beneath the sun being without it of any use in this matter, that the better thought, which is the thought of a few, sometimes originally of a single mind only, gains the upper hand of the

inferior thought, which is the thought of the many; that error, which naturally commends itself to the ignorant, is slowly and painfully demonstrated to be error; and that many forms of injustice, nothwithstanding their hoar antiquity, the memory of man never having run to the contrary, are shown at last to be inhumanities. It is by their aid, and their aid only, that an inch of good ground gained to-day, is not lost to-morrow, but kept for ever; that hints are treasured up till what they hinted at is discovered; that what has been observed by one man is set alongside of what has been observed by another, till at last the fruitful conclusion grows out of the connected view; that the experience of individuals, and of generations, is stored up for those who are to come after; that the spark kindled in a single mind becomes a common light. All this must be despaired of without letters—that is to say, without books and newspapers, for it has now come to that—without the dissemination of printed records, statements, and discussions; and the wider they are disseminated the greater is the effect of them. If the effect is so much when the seed is sown in ten thousand minds it will be proportionately greater when it is sown in ten millions.

Nothing else has done in this matter for any people, and nothing else will do for the Egyptians and Syrians. Their circumstances, over which we appear to have no control, may make the effort barren; but there is nothing else we can do for them. It is "the one way of salvation" for the state in which they now are. Nothing else can bring them to see except printed discussion, in which what is gained is retained, and what is discredited dies away; that for one disease the dung of a black dog is not a sovereign remedy, nor for

another the dung of a white cow; and that the only preservative against the evil eye is the security good laws, well administered, give to person and property.

As to ourselves, had it not been for the assistance we received from letters we should still have here the Druid, or some one or other of his congeners, offering human holocausts to the accompaniment of the approving shouts of frantic multitudes; and we should still be, at this day, as far from the ideas of liberty of thought, and of humanity, as Galgacus was from the conception of the steam-engine, or of the electric telegraph.

CHAPTER XLV.

ACHMED TRIED IN THE BALANCE WITH HODGE.

A man's a man for a' that.——BURNS.

You do not go through Egypt without comparing the village Achmed, who is so often at your side, with poor Hodge whom you left at home, but who, nevertheless, is often in your thoughts. You ask which of the two is best off; and which is, after all, the best man? And you ask yourself these questions not without some misgivings, for you are pleased with Achmed, and you feel more pity than usual for poor Hodge.

They both work alike on the land all their days. The former for the Kedivé, the latter for farmer Giles. Each of them is at the bottom of the social hierarchy to which he belongs. These, however, are points of resemblance only in words: the things the words stand for in the two cases are very different. In fact, there are no resemblances at all between them.

It is now winter. Hodge turned out this morning long before daylight. The ground was hard frozen; but by-and-by it will all be snow-slush. He had to look after his horses, and get down, before people began to stir, to the town, five or six miles off, for a load of manure. Or, perhaps, he did not get up quite so long before daylight to-day. It would have been of no use, for he is now working in a wet ditch up to his ankles in mud all day long, facing a hedge bank.

This is a job that will take him three or four weeks. It is winter work, in out-of-the-way fields; and no one will pass in sight all day. He will eat his breakfast of bread and cheese alone, seated on the damp ground, with his back against a tree, on the lea-side; and his dinner of the same viands, in the same place, and with the same company.

And what will he be thinking about all day? He will wish that farmer Giles would only let him have one of those old pollards on the hedge-bank. He could stay and grub it up after work of moon-light nights. It would give a little firing, and his missus would be glad to see it come home. Things are getting unneighbourly dear, and he will hope that farmer Giles will raise his wages a shilling, or even sixpence a week. But he has heard talk of lowering wages. Times are very hard, and folk must live. He will hope that baby will soon be better; but it always was a poor thing. He will hope his wife may not be laid up this winter as she was last. That was a bad job. He got behind at the mill then. Tom and Dick have been without shoes ever since, and he can't say how the doctor's bill is ever to be paid. He will wish he could buy a little malt to brew a little beer. He shouldn't make it over-strong. He doesn't hold with that. He will think it can't be far off six o'clock. He will wish they had not done away with the old path across Crab-tree Field. It used to save him many a step, going and coming. He minds that field well, because when he was scaring crows in that field—he must have been going eight years old then—the parson came along the path, and he asked the parson, "Please, sir, what's o'clock?" and the parson gave him sixpence. It was the first sixpence he ever

got, and it was a long time before he got another. He always says the parson gave him that sixpence, because when the parson said, "What, boy, have you pawned your watch?" he kind of laughed. He minds, too, that the corn came up very slow that year. It was cold times. Perhaps that was why he asked, What's o'clock.

Poor fellow, in his life there is plenty of margin for wishes and hopes. As he trudges home you see that his features are weather-beaten and hard. It would not be easy to get a smile out of them; and, if it did come, it would be rather grim. His back is bent; his gait is slouchy; his joints are beginning to stiffen from work and rheumatism.

His life is dreary and hard, and so is his wife's. She, too, is up before daylight; and her candle is alight some time after he has laid down his weary limbs, and sleep has brought him forgetfulness. She has some damages to repair, and some odd things to do, which must be done before to-morrow morning, and which she had no time to do during the day. She is now seated for the first time since five o'clock in the morning, with the exception of the short intervals when she snatched her humble meals. She has, unassisted, to do everything that is done in that house, and for that family of six or seven in all. She has to keep the house, the children, and her husband tidy. She has a weekly wash, daily repairs, daily cooking, weekly baking; to buy all that is wanted, to look after the sick baby and the other children; and to look in occasionally on her sick neighbour.

The earth is a large place, but I believe that nowhere else on the earth's surface can a harder worked couple be found than Hodge and his wife.

And what makes their hard lot still harder is the fact that they are the only workers who never have a fête or a holiday. Our climate is such that neither in mid-winter or in mid-summer need labour be intermitted; and our agriculture is so conducted that it cannot. The consequence is that Hodge is held to labour all the year round. And, if he could now and then be spared, Nature here imposes upon him so many wants, and so inexorably exacts attention to them, that he could not afford a day's idleness from the time when, being about eight years old, he began to scare crows till the day when, worn out with toil and weather, he will be laid in the churchyard: he must be in harness every day, and all day long.

If, then, this couple have some failings (how could it be otherwise?) be to those unavoidable failings a little kind. Think, too, that it would be strange if such a life did not engender some virtues, and to those virtues be fair and appreciative. They are not afraid of any kind or of any amount of work. They don't see much use in complaining. They let other folk alone. They are self-reliant within their narrow sphere. They think there must be a better world than this has been to them. In the meantime they are thankful that they can work and earn their bread.

And here we have the true nursery of the nation. The schooling is hard, but without it we should not be what we are. It forms the stuff out of which Englishmen are made. It is the stuff that has made America and Australia, and is giving to our language and race predominance in the world. Our mental and bodily fibre is strengthened by having had to pass through the Hodge stage.

And now we have to set Achmed by the side of Hodge. Poor Hodge! How can there be any comparison between things so dissimilar? Achmed is a child of the sun, that sun his forefathers worshipped, and whose symbol he sees on the old temples. Every day of his life, and all day long, he has seen him,

> Not as in northern climes, obscurely bright,
> But one unclouded blaze of living light,

pouring floods of light and gladness about him, as he pours floods of life into his veins. The sunshine without has created a kind of sunshine within. It has saved him from working in slushy snow and in wet ditches, and from all unpleasant skyey influences. It has given him plenty of fête days and holidays. It has made his muscles springy, his joints supple, his step light, his eye and wits and tongue quick. As to the rest, he might almost think that he had no master over him. He works when and how he pleases. Still he is not without his troubles. The Kedivé and his people will take all that his land produces, except the doura, the maize, the cucumbers, and the onions that will be barely sufficient to keep himself and his family alive. All the wheat and the beans must go. And he will get bastinadoed into the bargain. But about that he doesn't trouble himself much. It always was so, and always will be so. Besides, is it not Allah's will? After all his wants are not great. He scarcely requires house, fuel, or clothing. And to-day Achmed's donkey has been hired by the howaji, from whom he hopes to extort two rupees. Two piastres would be plenty, but he wants the rupees particularly just now, for he has a scheme for divorcing his present wife as she is getting rather old for him, and marrying a young

girl he knows of in the village; and this, one way or another, will cost him two or three pounds. And so he is more smiling and more attentive to the howaji than usual.

There is, however, one point of resemblance: they both end the day in the same fashion. They light their pipes and take their kêf. Achmed, at these times, appears to be breathing a purer and less earthly ether than Hodge; but that is his manner. It may be that his thoughts are less of the grosser things of earth, the first wants of life, than Hodge's. But who knows? Perhaps they may be only of divorcing the old wife, and fetching home the young one. Hodge, I believe, has the greater sense of enjoyment as the soothing narcotic permeates his overstrained fibres. Sometimes there is a half-formed thought in his mind that he is doing his duty manfully, without much earthly notice or encouragement.

On the whole, then, I am glad to have made the acquaintance of Achmed. I like him well. I shall always have agreeable recollections of him. He is pleasant to look at, pleasant to deal with, notwithstanding his extortions, pleasant to think about. But I have more respect for Hodge. He has nothing to say for himself. If he is picturesque, it is not after the received fashion. If his life contains a poem, it is not one that would be appreciated, generally, either in the Eastern or Western Row. He has, however, a stout, and withal a good heart. One ought to be the better for knowing something of his unobtrusive manly virtues. Achmed has a gust for pleasure. He has had some training in this matter, and is a merry fellow who will enliven your holiday. Hodge's spiriting lies in a different direction.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WATER-JARS AND WATER-CARRIERS.

The pitcher may go often to the well, but comes home broken at last.
——*Old Proverb.*

EVERY drop of water that has ever been used in Egypt for domestic purposes—the waterworks of Cairo and Alexandria are very modern innovations—has, with the exception of the small quantity conveyed in goat-skins by men, been brought up out of the river and canals by women. Their custom has been to carry it on their heads in large earthen jars, called goollehs. These are so large that they are capable of being formed into rafts, which you often meet upon the river, with two men upon each steering and punting them along. This is the way in which they are taken, from the places where they are manufactured, to be distributed to the towns and villages along the banks of the stream. Each weighs when full, as near as I could tell by lifting one, about forty pounds. Wherever you may be you see the women trooping down to the river-bank with these jars on their heads to fetch water. Arrived at the water's edge, each woman tucks her short and scanty skirts between her legs, and, walking a step or two into the stream, fills her goolleh. She then faces round to the

bank, and sets it down on the ground. The next move is to face back again to the stream, and wash her feet. When ready to depart she receives the assistance of the one who will go next into the water in placing the full jar on her head. The last of the troop has no assistance. With forty pounds weight on their heads they walk up the steep bank, and, perhaps, a mile or two off to the village, making as light of it as if it were no more than a chignon. The practice of carrying these weights on the head gives an erectness to the figure and a prominency to the chest which nothing else could produce.

Though I have often smoked out a cigar while watching an incessant stream of these women coming down to, and going up from, the watering-place, I never heard one speak to another. I suppose they reserve what they have to say till they are alone. Nor did I ever see one of them cast a glance upon a stranger. I quite believe what a native told me of them—that it would be regarded as a portent if one of the very poorest class of them were in the least to commit herself in this way. I once saw one of my companions—a tall, good-looking young fellow—walk up to a damsel as good-looking as himself, who had filled her goolleh, and set it on the edge of the stream till she had washed her feet. As she turned round for it he lifted it for her and placed it on her head. I narrowly watched her face. She ought to have been somewhat taken by surprise, for she knew not that he was behind her; but of this there was no indication. She did not look at him, or move a feature: there was no apparent consciousness of any one being present. The instant the jar was on her head, she walked away just as she would have done had her sister lifted it for her.

One is astonished at the mountains of broken crockery or pottery which mark the sites of the ancient cities. That well nigh all the water used in Egypt for so many thousands of years has had to be carried in these earthen jars—for there is no wood in Egypt to make bowls and buckets—and that the cooking utensils of the mass of the people must be made of the same fragile material—for Egypt, except in times of unusual prosperity, has no metals cheap enough for this purpose — will account for no inconsiderable part of the accumulations. These shards have gone a long way towards forming the barrows in which lie buried Abydos, Memphis, Esne, Edfou, Thebes, Dendera, and scores of other places. The importance of any of these old cities may be roughly estimated by observing the magnitude of the barrow in which it is buried. The mounds at Alexandria—and even already at modern Cairo—are of surprising dimensions. Had they brought up the water from the river in wooden buckets, which would have decayed; or had they cooked in metal utensils—the materials of which, when they became unserviceable for cooking, would have been turned to some other account—these mounds would have been less conspicuous objects than they are now.

CHAPTER XLVII.

WANT OF WOOD IN EGYPT, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them. —*Isaiah.*

Egypt has no woods or thickets. It would hardly possess a single tree without the care of man. The few it has would soon perish if that care were intermitted. Even the palm, which we regard as the tree of the desert, cannot exist unless it be supplied with water. The species of the trees one meets with commonly in Egypt do not exceed half-a-dozen. They are the large-leaved acacia, the small-leaved thorny acacia, the tamarisk, a variety of the Indian fig, the palm, and, occasionally in Upper Egypt, the dôm palm.

From this dearth of wood follow several obvious consequences, which may be worth noting. First, all the houses of the lower class, that is, of the great mass of the people of Egypt, must be built of crude, or sun-dried brick. There is no wood for posts and planks, or to burn brick for such folk as they. This obliges them to live in houses that are singularly mean; and, according to our ideas, insufficient for their purpose. They can only have a ground-floor, for no ceilings can be made without wood. Nor, for the same reason, can they have any roofs, there is no wood for rafters.

Nor, if they could manage to get the rafters, would they be able to get the fuel for burning the tiles. It follows that only a part of what ought to be the roof can be covered in, and that in the rudest way, for protection against what heaven may send in the way of heat, or cold, or wet. This partial covering is very ineffectual. It consists of a few palm-leaves, or of the stalks of the millet and maize, laid horizontally from wall to wall; upon this wheat and barley straw is generally piled till it has been consumed by the donkeys, and goats, and camels, and buffaloes. Such is the rule; a real serviceable roof being the exception. These roofless ground-floors, which are the house, must also be floorless, for there is no wood either for flooring or for burning floor-bricks. Then the floor must be dust. This makes every house a flea-preserve.

A further consequence is, that within these floorless, roofless, windowless, doorless mud enclosures there can be no such thing as furniture—nothing to sit upon, nothing to stow anything away in, nothing to put anything upon; not a cupboard, a chair, or a table. But this matters little to a people who can always sit, and sleep on the dry ground; and who have nothing to stow away. Everywhere I saw men, and sometimes even women sleeping out of doors, even in mid-winter.

But the consequences on the life and habits of the people of this dearth of wood are not yet exhausted. It also puts difficulties in the way of their cooking their food. For instance, they cannot bake their bread as often as they would wish. A family may not have fuel enough to admit of the recurrence of this expenditure of it more frequently than perhaps a dozen times in the year. In order, therefore, to keep their bread sweet, they have to cut it into thin slices, and dry it in

the sun. And to obtain a sufficiency of fuel for even these restricted uses they have to collect carefully and to turn to account everything that can be made to burn. As I have shown elsewhere, their chief resource for this purpose are the contributions they very thankfully receive from their herbiverous animals. A great part of the time of the women is spent in manufacturing this material into combustible cakes.

Those who are curious in tracing up to their sources the customs and practices of different people may refer many other things that they will see, and some that they will not see, in Egypt, to this dearth of wood. In agriculture no carts or vehicles of any kind are used: there is no wood of which they might be made. It is, therefore, cheaper that everything should be carried on donkeys and camels. Here, when you see a tree, you are looking on what may be transformed into an essential part of the instrument of transportation. The cart, or waggon, and the animals that are to draw it, together form the complete instrument. In Egypt, when you see a bundle of chopped straw and a field of lucern, you are looking on all out of which the Egyptian means of land transportation are to be created. In Egypt, when a donkey has any shoes, they consist merely of a piece of flat iron, the size of the bottom of the hoof, cut out of a thin plate. It is easy to cut this out, but it would be expensive, where fuel is so scarce, to forge a shoe. This list might be very largely increased.

Nor are we here in England, three thousand miles off, unaffected by the niggardliness of Nature to Egypt in this matter. The country possesses railroads, steamboats, and sugar and other factories on a large scale, but no fuel to create for them motive power. This

must come from without, and it is all supplied from English collieries, and sent in English vessels. In return for it we get no insignificant portion of the produce of the valley of the Nile. How strangely are things concatenated. The rains that fall in the highlands of Abyssinia and in equatorial Africa are grinding down pebbles in mountain torrent channels, and washing away the vegetable mould, and transporting their infinitesimal water-borne particles to Egypt, for the purpose of giving employment to the coal-miners of Durham and to the weavers of Manchester. The intelligence and industry of England turns to account, through the medium of Egypt, the evaporation that takes place on the Indian and South Atlantic oceans. How much physical and mental machinery is involved in this statement!

CHAPTER XLVIII.

TREES IN EGYPT.

Divisæ arboribus patriæ.——VIRGIL.

VEGETATION is the garb of Nature; and no description of any region can pretend to completeness till the trees—the most conspicuous part of the vegetation—have been brought into view. In Egypt the species of trees one commonly meets with may be counted on the fingers of one hand; and as each specimen of each of these species must be carefully looked after to be kept alive, every particular tree comes to be regarded as beautiful and valuable. The knowledge the traveller has of this care and regard which has been bestowed upon them enhances the interest with which he beholds them. Besides, the trees of Egypt are entitled to a place in any description of the country, for the additional reason that on its level plain they are the most marked and pleasing objects on which the eye rests. A work, therefore, that aims at giving anything like a picture of Egypt must invest each species with some little distinctive prominency.

Among the trees of Egypt, the first place is held by the palm. On landing at Alexandria you find it around the city in abundance, and throughout the

country you are never long out of sight of it. It is seen to most advantage from the river against the sky. It appears most in place when, in sufficient numbers to form a grove, it overshadows some river-side village. You there look upon it as the beneficent friend and coadjutor of the poor villagers. You know that it gives them much they could not get elsewhere, and which they could ill spare—shade, boxes, baskets, cordage, thatch, timber, and the chief of their humble luxuries, in return for the protection and water they have given to it. We often hear it spoken of as the queen of the vegetable world. I had rather say that it is a form of grace and beauty of which the eye never tires.

The tree usually employed in forming avenues, where shade is the first object, is the broad-podded acacia. The distinguishing feature in this is the largeness and abundance of its singularly dark green leaves. Its foliage, indeed, is so dense, that no ray of sunlight can penetrate through it. The effect of this is very striking. In one of these avenues that has been well kept you will find yourself in a cool gloom, both the coolness and the gloom being such that you cannot but feel them, while you see the sun blazing outside. The road from Boulak to the Pyramids of Gizeh is planted the whole way with these trees. For the first two or three miles they are of some age, and, having now met overhead above the road, the shelter, even at mid-day, is complete. For the rest of the way the trees are not older than the Prince of Wales's visit, they having been planted along the sides of the road that was on that occasion made for him. No tree more easily establishes itself, or grows more rapidly, if sufficiently watered. All that is required is to cut off a limb, no

matter how large, or from how old a tree, and to set it in the ground. If it be supplied with water it grows without fail. This acacia is the lebekh of the natives.

Another tree used in avenues, and which grows to a greater height and with larger limbs than the lebekh, is the Egyptian sycamore. It is a species of the Indian fig. It has large limbs, which enable you to see the whole of its skeleton. The skeleton of the lebekh is concealed by the multiplicity of its branches, and the density of its foliage. There is a fine specimen of this sycamore in the first Nubian village, on the way from Assouan to Philæ, and another equally good on the bank of the river just opposite Philæ. Trees of this kind have more of the appearance of age than others in Egypt. Their bark is of a whitish colour, and their large branches are covered with little leafless spur-like twigs, of a dingy black, on which are produced their round green fruit, about as big as bantam's eggs. These spur-like processes on the branches are, I suppose, the homologues of the descending ærial roots of its congener, the banyan-tree of India, of which latter also I saw one or two good specimens in gardens in Egypt. It was from the imperishable wood of the sycamore that the ancient Egyptians made their mummy cases. The fine old avenue from Cairo to Shoobra, three miles in length, is composed of generally good specimens of this tree, intermingled with the acacia, lebekh, and here and there a few tamarisks.

The tree which approaches nearest to the ability to support itself in Egypt without man's aid is the tamarisk. It is a tree that drinks very little, and takes a great deal of killing. You see it growing, as a stunted shrub, in the nitre-encrusted depressions of the desert in the neighbourhood of Ismailia, and elsewhere,

where it can only very occasionally be refreshed by a stray shower. Wherever it can get the little moisture with which it is satisfied it becomes a graceful tree.

The thorny small-leaved acacia gives but little shade. It produces a small yellow flower, which is a complete globe, and has a sweet scent. It is in flower at Christmas. If this is the acanthus of Herodotus its wood must have been largely used when he was in Egypt for the construction of the river boats, which were often of very great capacity.

The dôm palm is occasionally seen in Upper Egypt. The first I fell in with was at Minieh. That, I believe, is the most northerly point at which it is found. Its peculiarity is that, when the stem has reached a few feet above the ground, it bifurcates. It then has two stems and two heads. When these two stems have grown out to the length of a few feet they, too, each of them bifurcate, following the example of the parent stem. There are now four stems with heads. Another repetition of the process gives eight, and so on. In fact, it is a branching palm, and every branch is a complete palm-tree. The whole is a cluster of palm-trees on one stock.

These are all the trees one notices in travelling through the country. The list is soon run through, but I saw that an attempt was being made to add to the list. In the neighbourhood of the Viceroy's palaces I found two species of Australian eucalyptus. They appeared to approve of the soil and climate, and gave promise of soon becoming fine trees. They do well at Nice, and will probably do better in Egypt.

Every one of the trees I have mentioned remains, in Egypt, in full foliage throughout the winter.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GARDENING IN EGYPT.

The garden of God.——*Ezekiel.*

THAT horticulture was a favourite occupation among the ancient Egyptians is shown abundantly by their sculptures and paintings. Representations of gardens are so common that we may infer that no residence, of any pretensions, was considered complete without one. We even see that rare and interesting plants, brought from Asia and Ethiopia, each with a ball of earth round the roots, carefully secured with matting, formed at times a part of the royal tribute. The very lotus, which may be regarded as, among flowers, the symbol of Egypt, is now supposed to have been an importation from India. In this matter, as in every other respect, the country has sadly retrograded.

Of course all sub-tropical and many tropical trees and plants do well here, if only they be regularly supplied with water. I never saw more interesting gardens on a small scale than those of S. Cecolani at Alexandria, and of the American Consul at Port Said. The same may be said of the garden of the Viceroy at his Gezeerah palace. In them you will find the plants we keep in stove houses doing well in the open air,

and many of them in flower at Christmas, or soon after. In the first-mentioned of these gardens I saw very beautiful specimens of the Norfolk Island pine, about thirty feet high, growing luxuriantly. There was also a species of solanum, which, if I knew its Christian name, I would commend to the attention of those who are endeavouring to produce in their English gardens something of a sub-tropical effect. It was about ten feet high, and was so regularly filled up with branches as to have a completely symmetrical, a somewhat dome-like form. Its leaves were large, rough, and prickly. At the extremity of each twig, or lesser branch was a large branching spike of purple flowers. The individual flowers in the spikes of bloom were about the size of the flower of its relative the common potato, and similar in shape. It was a most effective shrub. I never saw one more so.

It is generally supposed amongst us that our English gardens are quite unrivalled. They may be in the thought, care, and money bestowed upon them; but in variety of interest they are very inferior to Egyptian gardens. These may contain all the plants we consider most beautiful and most worthy of artificial heat; which, too, may be grouped with bamboos, palms, Indian figs, bananas, cactuses, daturas, poinsettias nine or ten feet high, and many other plants and trees one would go some way to see growing with the freedom and luxuriance that is natural to them in this bright, winterless climate.

CHAPTER L.

ANIMAL LIFE IN EGYPT.—THE CAMEL.

An omne corpus habeat suum ubi?——LEMMA.

IN representing the natural scene animal must be associated with vegetable life. The two, in their double relation, first to each other, and then to the peculiarities of the region that has become their own, constitute the chief features of the natural panorama. A picture that would exhibit this in a manner suitable to the object of these pages will not require either complete comprehensiveness or much minuteness of detail: such a method of treating the subject would belong to science. What is here required is that those forms only should be signalised which possess in their beauty, numbers, utility, history, or in some way or other, what will interest everybody. They must, in short, be regarded here rather from the human than from the scientific point of view.

The form, then, which first attracts the eye of the traveller in Egypt is the camel, which, strange enough, the ancient Egyptians, either from an antipathy to the animal, or from some other cause unknown, excluded from their paintings and sculptures. Did this antipathy originate in religious

ideas? Was it because the animal appeared to them, as we may easily suppose it might, peculiarly unclean? Or was it because it presented itself to them as the companion and servant of their hated Semitic neighbours? But whatever may have been the reason of their repugnance to it, their descendants, who, however, are at least equally the descendants of their Semitic neighbours, do not participate in the feeling. No sooner are you landed at Alexandria than you have the camel before you. Previously, while you were yet on the way, it had occupied a place in your anticipations of the East; and now that it meets you at every turn you are never weary of looking at it.

As it steps by you mark its wide, deliberate, noiseless stride. You observe that the head of the tall slim Arab who walks by its side only reaches half way up its shoulder. Its long neck is elevated and stretched forward. It is carrying its head horizontally, with its upper lip drawn down. In this drawn-down lip, and in its whole demeanour, there is an expression of contempt—of contempt for the modern world. You can read its thoughts. "I belong," it is saying to itself, for it cares nothing about you, still you can't help understanding it. "I belong to the old world. There was time and room enough then for everything. What reason can there be in all this crowding and hastening? I move at a pace which used to satisfy kings and patriarchs. My fashion is the old-world fashion. Railways and telegraphs are nothing to me. Before the pyramids were thought of it had been settled what my burden was to be, and at what pace it was to be carried. If any of these unresting pale-faces (what business have they with me?) wish not to be knocked over they must get out

of my way. I give no notice of my approach; I make way for no man. What has the grand and calm old world come to! There is nothing anywhere now but noise and pushing and money-grubbing." And every camel that you will meet will be going at the same measured pace, holding its head in the same position, drawing down its lip with the same contempt, and soliloquizing in the same style.

In Alexandria this anachronism of an animal appears to be chiefly employed in carrying goods to and from the harbour, and in bringing forage into the city. This consists mainly of fresh-cut lucern and of chopped straw—always chopped, and always carried in rope nets made of the fibres of the palm. It is always the same, because in the East there are never two ways of doing anything. As to this chopped straw, it is difficult to say how it comes to pass that the small fractions of it do not fall through the large meshes of the rope net; and that the net itself, with its contents, always retains the same rectangular form. These rope nets are used also on the river for forming the stacks of chopped straw one sees floating down the stream on boats.

On leaving Alexandria for Cairo you begin to see the camel in the fields. In that first journey in Egypt everything is new, and strange, and interests. Sometimes he is at plough, with a buffalo, or cow, or ass, for a mate. Sometimes he is tethered in a piece of lucern. From the absence of enclosures all animals are tethered in Egypt.

In Cairo you see more camels than in Alexandria. They stalk along in Indian file, not swerving an inch from the direct line, full in the middle of the street. In Jerusalem I counted as many as two-and-twenty in line, all roped together, tail and head. This is neces-

sary there, where the streets are so narrow that if the train of beasts were not thus vertebrated into the form of a single reptile, it would be impossible to keep them together. They bring into Cairo, besides forage, all the wood, and fuel, and grain consumed in the city, and the stone, too, that is used for building. All Cairo has in this way been carried on camels' backs.

As you ascend the river you are never long without seeing a camel, or a string of camels, on the bank. As you look up at them, for at the season when you are in Egypt the river has subsided many feet, their long legs and long necks seen against the sky appear longer than they have been really made by Nature, and you think that you are looking upon some arachnoid creatures of the megatherium epoch moving along the bank. At Siout, where the caravan road from Darfur through the great oasis strikes the Nile, I saw a whole kafileh of camels that had just arrived. They were all on their bellies, a hundred or more of them, and filled the great market place. It was to us a strange sight as we passed through them. Some made an angry noise, and snapped at us with their ugly mouths. I know not what disturbed their equanimity. They might have been, by the grace of Nature, exceptionally malcontent; or it might have been the Frank dress, or the absence of the odour of the Arab dress, that irritated them.

Camels, like horses, are of many colours, black, white, mouse-colour of varying shades, and rusty red of varying shades: the difference here is that none of the colours are glossy and bright. As they do not lie on their sides, their packs and saddles are often left on all night. I have seen a long string of camels at midnight all resting on their bellies on the ground, and all

still saddled just as they had been during the day. The long manger out of which they were eating their chopped straw was also laid on the ground; and so was the Arab in charge of them. The fire, too, by which he was sleeping was fed, like his camels, with chopped straw.

The camel is one of the cheapest of all means of land carriage. Its load is six hundred weight. In Syria you frequently see their loads lying in the middle of the road, while the animals themselves have been let go on the hill or the roadside waste to pick up a feed from the almost sapless and often thorny bushes: this costs nothing. One driver manages several, and his keep costs little. This and the original cost of the animal is all the outgoing in the half desert tracts through which the caravans generally make their way. He lasts in work eighteen or twenty years.

At Assouan, for the first time in ascending the river, you find that you are expected yourself to mount a camel for the ride across the bit of desert to Philæ. For weeks you have been observing that the Arab on his back is jerked forward at every stride, and so you say, perhaps, to yourself, "Now for a ride on a camel; but I wonder whether my vertebræ will be dislocated. I wonder whether I shall be able to sit with my legs crossed over the creature's neck! Perhaps I shall be pitched off as he jerks himself up from the ground!" All that are for hire are down on their bellies on the bank. You jump on the one that has the best saddle, because you argue that the man who can afford the best saddle can probably afford the best beast; and that it would be unreasonable to put a good saddle on a bad beast. You jump on jauntily, as if you had been to the manner born. As you are crossing your legs before

the front crotch of the saddle up goes the beast. You are thrown forward and get a dig in the stomach from the front crotch. Then you are thrown backwards and get a dig from the hind crotch in your back. You steady yourself, and think those digs might have been bad, but so far all right. You observe that you are very high up in the air. The earth seems a long way off. But now for the desert on a camel.

A slender-limbed Nubian lad, to show his zeal, and that he is up to his work, immediately begins to beat the beast with a long stick. You don't like the pace, and so you think him an imp of darkness, or the near relative of an African monkey. You submit for a few minutes, but the tossings up (you have no stirrups, and your legs are crossed) and the jerks backwards and forwards are bad, and you don't know how far it will go, and so you call out, "You little efreet, leave the beast alone!" This is said with a sweep of your stick towards him. He dodges off with a grin. You are not disposed to laugh. In a moment he is back again like a fly. He will keep his camel up to the front if he can. But you soon get accustomed to the swing. As you notice that the desert is strewn with sharp angular pieces of granite of all sizes, some jutting through the sand, some lying loose on the surface, you again feel, as you did at first, that you are very far up above the earth. The sun is blazing above. The thermometer is at 140 degrees. There is, however, a pleasant breeze. At last you get to Philæ. You are surprised that the distance has been done in so short a time. You get back to Assouan in the evening not at all dissatisfied with your ride on a camel. The next day you repeat the same journey in the same way. It has lost its novelty, and you take it as a matter of course,

and even expect to find it pleasant. You go as much for the sake of a second day on a camel as for Philæ itself. You now wish you could spare time for a trip to the great oasis on camel-back. Ever afterwards you talk of the camel with an air of authority, as if you had been bred in tents.

CHAPTER LI.

THE ASS.—THE HORSE.

The asses be for the king's household.——*II. Samuel.*

THE camel is, of course, the most characteristic feature of the animal life of the East. The ass comes next. The camel has no known history, except in connection with man. But the ass once was free, and some tribes to this day retain the primæval freedom in their aboriginal Eastern home. All, however, of the race the ordinary traveller now sees are the slaves of man. Though in the order both of utility and picturesqueness the ass comes after the camel, still he deserves prominent notice, for he is everywhere—in the field, in the village, in the city. In Egypt ubiquity is one of his attributes. Universal adaptation, out of which his ubiquity grows, is another. He is the mount of the rich and of the poor, of man, woman, and child. His lot varies, as does the lot of those he serves. The rich man's ass is a lordly beast. In size, he is far ahead of anything of his kind we see here at home. His coat is as smooth and glossy as a horse's—the face, of course, having been put on by the scissors as well as by grooming His livery is shiny black, satiny white, or sleek mouse-colour. I never saw one of the

dingy red of his Poitou brethren. He carries a grand saddle, resplendent with many-coloured fringes, and with a wondrous stuffed pommel of red morocco, eight or more inches high, like a bolster laid before you. The head and reins are decorated. It is a magnificent get-up, and the animal himself is worthy of it all. Many of this sort cost more than a hundred pounds. His hide has never been chafed, nor his spirit broken by ill-usage. He is always left as Nature made him, and is not vicious withal. I saw one at a rich man's door at Alexandria so like a fine cob pony that it took the friend who happened to be with me and myself a second look to assure ourselves that he was an ass. He might, however, not have been an Egyptian, for I never saw another at all like him in form or colour. He was of a dark rusty dun.

Such are high caste donkeys. There are, however, low caste donkeys—very low, indeed, and these are far the most numerous. Whatever is good in the appearance, and happy in the lot, of their well-placed brothers is reversed in theirs. They are poor men's slaves—a proverbially miserable condition even, as Homer tells us, in the heroic days of Hellas. Puny, unkempt, ill-fed, overloaded, overworked, with shocking raws on their flanks and backs, which never cease through life to wring and rack, till they can be burdened and beaten no more, what a blessed consummation must it be for them when they are pushed off the path, or driven out of the gate to feed the dogs and vultures—a feast, indeed, which would, to these guests, be a grievous disappointment, had not long experience taught them to be, on such occasions, very moderate in their expectations.

The thought of the life-long sufferings of these

ames damnés of the humble fellow-workers of man troubles my recollections of the East. I used to flinch from the sight of one of them—a sight as common as disturbing. I feel now, as I then knew that I should feel always, that either in this world, though its currents are so corrupt, or in that which is to come, where the offence will stand in its true light, retribution must overtake me for having used poor beasts of this kind, though not yet quite fallen into the lowest depths. That it was up the country, where nothing else could be got, much as I wish for something to palliate the act, cannot, I know, be admitted as a justification. While my heart was bleeding at the sight of these sufferings, I could find no anodyne but the old Egyptian belief in the transmigration of souls. The poor wretches must, I tried to think, be expiating the crimes of a former life. They once were rich Legrees, or fraudulent bankers, who had robbed widows and orphans, or holy fathers, who had kept eunuchs to sing the praises of the Creator.

What a benefactor would he be who could satisfy us on this point—who could demonstrate the thing to us. We should then no longer be maddened at the thought of the iniquities of man, nor harrowed at the sight of the sufferings of the brute. The one would cancel the other.

The Horse.

Little need be said of the horse in Egypt. He is not remarkable there for size or beauty, nor does he obtrude himself much on the traveller's notice. Out of Cairo and Alexandria he is not frequently seen, and in those

cities he generally appears in harness, drawing always in pairs the multiform public vehicles which have been culled, one would suppose, from all parts of Europe. He is seldom seen in good condition unless he comes from the stable of the Viceroy, or some grandee, a governor or pasha, or some rich European resident. Taking the whole country, the number of them in good case would thus not be great. He suffers from his double competition with the ass and the camel; and from the absence, except in a few towns, of the use of wheeled vehicles. He is also affected injuriously by the dearness of his keep, compared with that of his competitors for man's favour, barley and clover being indispensable for him. All this reduces him to the degrading position of selling for less than, at present not half as much as, a good donkey. A fair horse might have been purchased last spring for twenty, or even fifteen pounds. He is seldom more than fourteen hands high. With a tall Arab on his back, he looks too small for a cavalry horse. It is his great merit to be better than he looks. He is very docile, very hardy, and can go through a great deal of work. Trotting is not one of his paces. Egypt used to have a celebrated breed of horses of its own, but that breed is now nearly extinct.

CHAPTER LII.

THE DOG.—THE UNCLEAN ANIMAL.—THE BUFFALO.—THE OX.—THE GOAT AND THE SHEEP.—FERÆ NATURÆ.

Nobis et cum Deo et cum animalibus est aliqua communitas.
—LACTANTIUS.

THE dog has in the East been spurned from the companionship of man. He is no longer allowed to guard a master's property, or to be the playfellow of his children. He has been expelled from the home, and the door has been closed against him; every contumely has been heaped upon him; religion has pronounced him unclean, and his contact double defilement.

But centuries of ill-usage have not obliterated Nature. He cannot divest himself of his old hereditary unreasoning feelings of eternal dependence and fidelity. Man has, it is true, with injurious harshness renounced the compact first indented in some distant age, perhaps in some remote northern clime; but the dog neither makes retort, nor claims his liberty. He remains faithful to his part of the broken bond. Only let him be near his old master, allow him no more companionship than to see him pass by, and he will bear all the scorn and all the hardnesses of his cruel lot, and will ever be forward to do him any service, however unhonoured. And so

it is that he has become homeless and masterless, the scavenger and the knacker of eastern cities.

Among wild animals, every individual, or if the species be gregarious, every association of individuals, has its own beat, which is as much its own property as a landed estate is the property of its human owner. In this we have the germ, and the rationale, of the human developments of the natural necessity and idea of property. Each of these beats is an appropriated hunting ground. Any outsider who appears within its limits is an invader, and is treated as such. So it is with the dogs of a large eastern city. They are divided into associations, and each association occupies its own district of the city. If a dog sets his foot beyond the boundaries of his own district, he is instantly attacked by those whose district he has invaded. An alarm is given, and all concerned rush to drive off the intruder, who is often seriously mauled. These raids and their repulse generally take place at night. To some travellers the canine uproar caused in the affair is insufferable. Their growls are certainly very harsh; you might think they came from the throats of packs of hyænas. Many of these dogs are badly wounded, we may infer, from one another's teeth in these night rows, because if such results do not ensue, for what earthly purpose do they make all this uproar? It would then be made out of pure *cussedness*, which one cannot believe of them.

I never saw a bitch with more than two pups—seldom with more than one. I supposed some inhabitant of the district had knocked the rest of the family on the head to prevent the pack becoming too numerous.

If a dog in the interior of the city makes himself

disagreeable, he is taken up by the scruff of the neck, and carried outside the city. He is never known to return again to his old haunts; in fact, he is unable to do so, being always hindered by those in possession of the intervening districts from passing through them. He thus remains on the outside of the city, an outcast from the dog community, a pariah among dogs for the rest of his days.

They never show any disposition to molest one in the daytime; at night, however, it is always necessary to go about provided with a good stick, for they will then scarcely ever allow a Frank to pass without assailing him, if not with their teeth, at all events with their tongues. The town dogs are about the size of our English pointers, but with longer coats, generally of a yellowish colour. The tail is somewhat bushy. The village dogs are larger and much fiercer. They are dark brown or black. Their size, courage, and social position improve as the river is ascended. I met a Scotchman who carried his dislike and fear of these ill-used animals so far that he never went out, night or day, without a revolver, or a kind of fire-arm of German manufacture, which goes off without a report. He boasted of the hecatombs he had slain—perhaps more had been maimed than slain—during his residence in the country. At one time he had cleared off so many in the quarter of the city in which he was living, that the natives, inferring from the number of dead dogs found in the neighbourhood of his house that it was his doing, laid a complaint against him before the Cadi for canicide. He was admonished to abstain for the future from wounding or taking the life of useful and unoffending animals.

Although the Arab can give the dog no place in

his affections, nor allow him the smallest familiarity, yet he treats him with a kind of compassionate kindliness. He sets up for him water-troughs about the city; and I often observed a poor man, as he ate his scanty meal, throw a morsel to a canine mendicant, probably, and if so not misthinkingly, in the name of God.

The Unclean Animal.

The unclean animal often divides with the dogs the scavengering of the towns. The part assigned him is the part the dogs' stomach will not allow them to undertake. Outside the city a heard of swine is generally to be seen on the filth-heap. It was there I saw them, at Alexandria, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. A few solitary stragglers only are met with in the streets. Of all that is hideous-looking and hideously filthy, I never beheld anything worse than these eastern town pigs: long snouted, long legged, long haired, ridge-backed, mangy, bespattered with grime. I could hardly have supposed that there had been in the nature of things such disgusting organisms. A sense of loathing sickens you as you see them. But we must not be hard on the helpless brute: is it not more shocking that man, endowed with large discourse of reason, with sovereign power to distinguish wrong from right, the lord, the soul, the very blossom of this visible world, bid to look with the inward eye as he has been enabled to do with the bodily eye, onwards and upwards, should, notwithstanding, still make himself a hog, morally a scavenger? And this position has been forced by necessity on the swine of the East—they did not turn to it from choice.

Christian travellers in the East who will eat swine's flesh buy it from the Greeks. That it was sold by a

Greek is no guarantee that it is food for a dog. Day after day I saw at Jerusalem a Greek boy tending a herd of swine on the filth-heap outside the Jaffa gate. Hard by against the wall were sitting a row of noseless, toothless, handless, footless lepers. It was a sight, this combination of animal and human debasement, to make one shudder. But as to those ordure and garbage consuming organisms on the filth-heap: the chemistry of Nature can work wonders, but those wonders have a limit. It cannot transmute that filth into human food. As well might you dine on a rat taken from a sewer, or a vulture caught in the ribbed cavity of a camel it was busy in eviscerating. It were all one to sup with the ghools.

In this matter it is entirely, from first to last, a question of climate, and, through climate, of vegetation. In this part of the world we have a moist climate, and, as a consequence, we have woods supplying acorns, beech-mast, and other sylvan fruits; and the same cause gives us grassy meadows and clover-fields where pigs can graze. And we have abundance of roots and corn, and much refuse garden-stuff; which all comes to this, that in these latitudes Nature and man supply the pig all the year round with abundance of clean and wholesome food. In the East Nature has withheld every one of these gifts. There are no woods, no meadows; and for him no roots, no fruits. Throughout Egypt, with the small exception of some uncultivated marshes in the Delta and Faioum, there is not a mouthful of food for pigs. They must, therefore, become scavengers of towns, or make their exit altogether from the scene. People are very poor in these parts; and those among the Greeks whose poverty suggests to them the idea of making a few piastres by

keeping pigs cannot, of course, be well off. The supposition, then, that such people will always buy corn, costly to them, and of which they are in need themselves, for pigs that other people are to eat, is Utopian.

America could not have been settled without the pig; but then the pig has in America a perennial feast of good things. It is the pig's paradise. The country is under forest. Wood-nuts and wild fruit of several sorts are everywhere. Peaches and maize, and many other things good enough for his betters, are in inexhaustible abundance. Here in England it is one of the luxuries of having a little bit of land that you never need be without pig, in one form or another, in the house. It is the only animal a cottager can keep. Nothing else is within his reach.

In the East the law-givers were right who made religion ban piggy. They could not reason with the multitude on a point of this kind. They could not make distinctions and exceptions. When you have to do with a hungry stomach reason does not go for much. Of course they did not take into consideration the opposite circumstances of other parts of the world. What would be good for us here was no concern of theirs.

The Buffalo.

The buffalo, if it were only for his ugliness, ought not to be unnoticed here. It has, however, another claim to a place in our picture from its so frequently coming into view. It is hardier and heavier than the ox, and has, therefore, to a great extent, taken its place both at the plough and at the water-wheel. The Egyptian buffalo has no resemblance to the brawny-

shouldered, shaggy-maned, clean-legged American prairie bison, injuriously miscalled a buffalo. What our Egyptian's hairless, slate-coloured carcase is most like is that of some ill-shaped primæval pachyderm. You would hardly take him for a congener of the ox, even after you had noticed his horns; such horns as they are, for they are so reflexed and twisted as to give you the idea that something must have gone wrong with them, till you find that they are alike in all. The little buffalo calf, by the side of its ugly, dull, soulless dam, seems a far more creditable piece of Nature's handicraft.

The Ox.

Of the existing ox so little is seen that nothing need be said here, except that it is a diminutive specimen of its kind; and that it gives dry, stringy beef. It was different in the time of the old Egyptians. They had (what had they not?) a polled breed as well as long-horns, and some curiously-marked breeds. But both bull and cow were then divine. The latter was sacred to Athyr, the Venus of Egypt. The former was worshipped as the symbol of strength and of the generative powers of Nature; his quiet rumination also suggesting the idea of the sufficiency and wisdom of reflective meditation. The couple have much degenerated since they ceased to be divine.

The Goat and the Sheep.

In Egypt the goats and the sheep, as is the case with their betters, are not separated from each other. In size, colour, shape, and coat, there is not much difference between them; nor is there much difference

between their mutton. This is not an instance, as some have suggested, of evil communications having corrupted good mutton, but it is the result of similarity of food. The Egyptian sheep have no mountain wild thyme, and no short sweet herbage to crop. The weeds and the dry acrid plants on the edge of the desert are all that Nature provides for them, and these they have to divide with the goats. The sourness of the food is what imparts to the mutton its twang; and then their wool is long and oily, and this oiliness of the wool must aid the ill effects of the food. I found, however, little reason to complain of the mutton, when I compared it with the beef. The goats supply the greater part of the milk and of the butter used in the country. Goats' butter is as white as paper. Neither sheep nor goats are larger than an ordinary-sized Newfoundland dog. They are generally of a rusty black, or smutty red colour.

Feræ Naturæ.

As to the *Feræ Naturæ*, Egypt offers little cover or feeding-ground for them. I saw none but jackals and foxes. They can, therefore, have no place in a traveller's sketch of the country. The crocodile is all but, or quite, extinct below the cataract. The steam-boat has given it, in this part of the river, its *coup de grace*. Formerly, both the crocodile and the hippopotamus appear to have disported themselves even in the Delta.

CHAPTER LIII.

BIRDS IN EGYPT.

> The cawing Rooks, and Kites that swim sublime
> In still repeated circles, screaming loud,
> The Jaye, the Pie, and e'en the boding Owl
> Have charms for me.——COWPER.

IN the picture of Nature the birds' place must not be left quite in blank. The first to greet you in Egypt are two familiar home companions. As you near the harbour of Alexandria—and even sometimes before you sight the land—the wagtail comes on board, and without a moment lost in reconnoitring, begins to look about the deck for crumbs. He flirts his tail as usual. Here, in our bird-persecuting part of the world, it means that he is on the alert; but on the deck of the steamer that is entering the harbour of Alexandria it means, "All right. I am not afraid: I am quite at home. Every one here is glad to see me, and I am glad to see you. Here no boys throw stones at me." Every flirt of its tail sends a little ripple of pleasure over your heart.

On entering Alexandria your only thought is of what is new and strange. The last thing to occur to you would be that you were about to encounter an old friend; but the first object that meets your eye, as you

step through the custom-house gate into the street, is a very old cosmopolitan friend you left in London a few weeks back—the house sparrow. "What!" you exclaim. "You here, you ornithological gamin?"

As you go by rail to Cairo, and as you ascend the river, you are never long out of sight of a mud-built village. The saddest and sorriest of habitations for men and women are these Egyptian villages I have ever anywhere seen. West India negro huts are better-furnished abodes. Their best-lodged inhabitants are the pigeons. The only storey that is ever raised above the ground-floor—which is of the ground as well as on it—is the dovecot. This, therefore, is the only object in a village which attracts the eye of the passer-by. In the Delta the fashion appears to be to raise a rude roundish mud tower, full of earthenware pots for the pigeons to breed in. These are inserted—of course, lying horizontally—in the mud of which the tower is built. In upper Egypt these towers have assumed the square form, about twelve feet each side. Three or four tiers of branches are carried round the building for the pigeons to settle on; these are stuck into the wall, and as the branches depart from the straight line, each according to its own bent, each belt of branches presents a very irregular appearance. No village is without its dovecotes. From the summit of the prophylæa of the grand Ptolemaic temple of Edfou, I counted about forty of these dovecotes on the tops of the mud hovels below me. The number of domestic pigeons in Egypt must be several times as great as that of the population. I suppose if they kept pigs they would not keep so many pigeons. They must consume a great quantity of corn—more, perhaps, than would be

required for the pigs of a pig-eating population as large as that of Egypt.

In going up the river from Cairo, the first birds that put in their appearance are the pelicans. They are generally in parties of eight or ten. They are fishing, in a line across the stream. They always keep out of gun-shot. They loom large, showing about the size of swans, and of the colour of cygnets. They do not care to go more than about two hundred miles above Cairo.

All up the river you see herons of several species: like their English congeners, they are patient watchers for passing fish; and when watching, more or less solitary.

The wet sand and mud banks are thronged with countless mobs of ducks of various kinds, geese, and other aquatic birds. Experience has taught them also how far guns carry.

As to the geese, you frequently hear and see overhead large flights of them. Sometimes as many as four or five flocks are in sight at one time. They are going to and from their feeding grounds. When aloft they are generally in some figure; but very far from always, as some say, in the form of a wedge. Perhaps the figure in which they place themselves depends on the currents of wind where they are. If they are driving against the wind, the wedge would of course be the best figure for them to move in; but if they are going down the wind a line one deep would be better, as it would give the full help of the current to every individual of the flock; and this is a figure they are often seen in. In the lately disinterred temple of Serapis, between the dilapidated pyramids of Sakkarah, and the marvellous catacomb of the sacred bulls, I saw

in painted relief, a scene which tells us how geese were fattened in old Egypt. Men are seated at each end of a table which is covered with pellets, probably of some kind of meal. Each man has a goose in his lap, down the throat of which he is cramming one of these pellets. The priests of Serapis liked their geese fat.

In the neighbourhood of Siout I saw several flocks of flamingoes on the wing. As they approached with the sun upon them, they showed like discs of silver, supported on black wings. When they had passed, the eye was charmed with their backs of rosy pink.

Among the land birds the commonest in the village palm groves are the Egyptian turtle-dove, and the hopoe. Where there are so many pigeons you might expect a great many hawks : these you see of several species. Larks are everywhere in the fields. You frequently fall in with bevies of quail, and with plovers. A small owl is common ; I heard and saw it during the day time, in the tamarisks near the pool in the sacred enclosure of Karnak, and elsewhere.

The banks of the river are full of bird life, as every bird in Egypt must daily come to the river to drink.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE EGYPTIAN TURTLE.

Cum ventre humano tibi negotium est, qui nec ratione mitigatur, nec prece ullâ flectitur.——LIVY.

IT is hard lines for an Egyptian turtle when he once gets turned on his back in Aboukir Bay. After that, for the remaining term of his natural life it is all Ramadan with him, after sunset as well as after sunrise. He is carried to Alexandria, and sold there, if a fine well-grown reptile, for half a sovereign: the smaller reptiles go for less. He is put on board a P. and O. boat, and carried to Southampton, all the way on his back, for another half sovereign. Add to this whatever one may have to pay for his railway journey, and you may take him home with you, and two or three more with him for your friends, at no great cost. Though perhaps it would be hardly worth while to give a turtle to one who does not know any other way of having him cooked than converting him into soup.

Something ought to be done, and might be done, to mitigate their long fast from Aboukir Bay to London. It makes the matter worse that we inflict starvation on the very creature we are contemplating as a feast for ourselves. It is no justification to say, learnedly, that Chelonians can dispense with food for

long periods. It is bad for all concerned. It is morally hardening to those who inflict unnecessary suffering, and to those—the passengers on the P. and O. boats—who witness its effects, progressing regularly from day to day. As the poor beasts lie on their backs, there were about fifty on board the boat I came home by, you see that the plastron, that is the name the belly shell goes by, is changing its shape. At first it is convex. It gradually, as the fasting is prolonged, loses its convexity, and becomes flat. This must be bad, but there is worse yet to come. Time goes on, and what had become flat, begins to sink, and becomes concave. This sinking inside must be very pinching; and the more so as the poor wretch has nothing else in particular to think about while lying all this time on its back. The alterations of shape it passes through measure its sufferings. It never itself did anything so bad to what it fed on. How could it without reason?

CHAPTER LV.

INSECT PLAGUES.

Who can war with thousand wage?——PERCY'S *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.*

As to the insect plagues of Egypt, I found the mosquitoes alone annoying. Had I been in the country in the summer or autumn, my experience would, I have no doubt, have been different. And as to the mosquitoes I found them seriously annoying only at Alexandria. At one time I had my face, hands, and ancles very badly bitten. My own carelessness, however, was the cause of this, for I was at that time in the habit of reading and writing at night with open windows. This was giving the bloodthirsty insects, which had been attracted by the candle, every facility. They had free ingress, and found their victim off his guard and exposed to their attacks. At Zech's, late Shepheard's, hotel at Cairo, I found no mosquitoes. In going up the river I had a *chasse* every night before I turned in to clear off the few that might be in my berth. I generally found one or two. Herodotus mentions the use by the Egyptians of the mosquito net.

It is curious that fleas, which so abound in Egypt, are not found in Nubia. In Egypt, as has been the case elsewhere, I often felt industrious fleas at work upon me; but I am not aware that a flea ever yet

succeeded in biting me. Others I heard complaining much of them.

The boat in which I went up the river had just been painted, and so I saw nothing in it of the Egyptian bug; but I heard that they abounded in other boats. I found the Hotel d'Europe, at Alexandria, and Zech's, at Cairo, quite free from them.

The domestic fly is about as troublesome in Egypt in winter as it is in this country in autumn.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE SHADOOF.

He shall pour the water out of his buckets.——*Book of Numbers.*

In Egypt, where mythology, language, writing, and all the arts appear never to have had a period of infancy or of adolescence, but to have come into being all in a perfected state and all together, it is hard to say what is older than other things. It is so with everything Egyptian; and so, of course, with the shadoof, the machine used in raising water by human labour for irrigating the land. It is the oldest machine with which we are historically acquainted: though, of course, it implies the use of the plough, which, as well as the hoe, must have been brought into the valley of the Nile by the immigrant ancestors of the Egyptians.

Mechanically, the shadoof is an application of the lever. In no machine which the wit of man, aided by the accumulations of science, has since invented, is the result produced so great in proportion to the degree of power employed. The lever of the shadoof is a long stout pole poised on a prop. The pole is at right angles to the river. A large lump of clay from the spot is appended to the inland end. To the river end is suspended a goat-skin bucket. This is the whole apparatus. The man who is working it stands on the edge

of the river. Before him is a hole full of water, fed from the passing stream. When working the machine, he takes hold of the cord by which the empty bucket is suspended, and, bending down, by the mere weight of his shoulders dips it in the water. He then rises with his hand still on the cord. His effort to rise gives the bucket full of water an upward cant, which, with the aid of the equipoising lump of clay at the other end of the pole, lifts it to a trough into which, as it tilts on one side, it empties its contents. The man continues bending down, and rising up again in this manner for hours together, apparently without more effort than that involved in these movements of his body. What he has done has raised the water six or seven feet above the level of the river. But if the river has subsided twelve or fourteen feet, it will require another shadoof to be worked in the trough into which the water of the first has been brought. If the river has sunk still more, a third will be required before it can be lifted to the top of the bank, so as to enable it to flow off to the fields that require irrigation. I sometimes saw as many as twenty series of shadoofs at work, two or three in each series, within a range of half a mile. The poor fellows who work them are, except for the barest decency, completely divested of every article of clothing: an almost invisible loin cloth, and a tight fitting cotton skull-cap are the whole of their apparel. They work all day in the wet and in the sun. As the materials for the shadoof, the pole, the prop, the skin, and the clay, are all to be had on the spot, the poor fellah is able, in a few minutes, to set up a machine that is of great service to him, at little or no cost.

The other machine used in Egypt for raising water

is called the sakia. This is the Persian water-wheel. It is a large wheel with a continuous row of jars arranged on its tire, something like the buckets of a dredging-machine. These jars dip up the water as the wheel revolves, and empty it, as the further revolution of the wheel brings their mouths downwards, into a trough. They are worked by bullocks or buffaloes. A few years back there were many more of these at work than there are at present. A murrain, or rinderpest, having destroyed the cattle, the fellahs were obliged to take their place, and revert to the old shadoof of the early Pharaohnic times.

CHAPTER LVII.

ALEXANDRIA.

Wide will wear. Narrow will tear.——*Old Proverb.*

ANCIENT Alexandria left its mark on the world. Its history, however, appears to connect it rather with great names than with great events. Fancy is pleased with the picture of the greatest of the Greeks, Philip's godlike son, Aristotle's pupil, who carried about with him his Homer in a golden casket, the Conquistador of Asia, and the heir of the Pharaohs, tracing, with the contents of a flour-bag, the outlines of the nascent city, which was to bear his name of might, and to sepulchre his remains.

The trade of Phœnicia revived in its harbours, and on its quays. It became the Heliopolis, as well as the Thebes, of Hellenic Egypt. Even the Hebrew part of the population caught the infection of the place, and showed some capacity for philosophy and letters. Here it was that their sacred Scriptures were, in the Septuagint translation, first given to the educated world. And Plato, too, was soon more studied in the schools of Alexandria than in his native Greece.

Here fell the Great Pompey. And here, in pursuit of him, came the Cæsar, who bestrode the world like a Colossus; to be followed in our own time by the

only modern leader of men, whose name, if he had possessed the generous magnanimity of the two captains of Greece and Rome, history might have bracketed with theirs.

Here "the unparalleled lass," rather, perhaps, of the greatest of poets than of history, having beguiled to his ruin the soft triumvir, preferred death to the brutalities of a Roman triumph.

Matters, however, of this kind—and they might be multiplied—are only bubbles on the surface. They interest the fancy, but have left little trace on the great current of events. We, at this day, are neither the better nor the worse for them. But of the theology of Alexandria we must speak differently. It is through that that it affected, and still affects the whole of Christendom. Sixteen hundred years have passed, and Alexandrian thought still holds its ground amongst us.

It would help us to a right understanding of what this thought was, and how it came to be what it was, if we knew something about the city, the times, the country, and the mental condition of its inhabitants. Alexandria, like Calcutta and New Orleans, having been called into existence by the requirements of commerce, had been obliged, for the sake of a harbour, to accept a singularly monotonous and uninteresting site. This alone must have had much influence on the cast of thought of its inhabitants. All who visit it will, I think, feel this. One cannot imagine a healthy and vigorous literature springing up in a place where Nature has neither grandeur nor beauty. Being mainly a commercial city, its inhabitants—as must be the case in all large commercial cities in the East—were composed of many nationalities. They had brought with them their respective religions, and literatures,

as well as manners and customs. It also contained the most brilliant Greek Court in the world, in which we might be certain that Greek inquisitiveness and mental activity would not be extinguished. This will account for the libraries and the schools of Alexandria.

We must understand why it never could become anything in the world of action. It was not because the Egypt of the Ptolemies was inferior to the Egypt of the Pharaohs. It might have been its superior in every particular of power and greatness, and yet have been unable to do anything in the outer world. What kept it quiet was a consciousness of moral and intellectual inferiority to the people time had at last educated and organized on the northern shores of the Mediterranean.

The mental activity of the Alexandrians was all connected with their libraries and schools. The work they did belongs to a condition of mind which can use libraries and schools, but which really originates nothing. It was all work upon other people's work. They never produced anything of their own. They never could have had an Æschylus or an Aristophanes; a Thucydides or an Aristotle. The genius that can originate implies vigour, freedom, individuality, irrepressible impulse. Nothing of this kind could have been the growth of Alexandria. The possession it was of these qualities which made the Greeks original, and great in everything they undertook: in art, in war, in government, in colonization, in philosophy, in poetry, in history. The genius which showed itself in their literature was only the same genius which showed itself in other forms and directions, as needs required: which showed itself in

everything Greek. Alexandria could not have produced a Pericles, or a Phidias, or an Alexander, any more than a great writer. It would have taken the same mental stuff to make one of these, as to make a poet, an historian, or a philosopher. They all work with the same tools. The main conditions, too, are the same in all. It is the object only to which the work is directed that varies.

The mind of Alexandria was a parasitical plant. It fastened itself on the work of others, and endeavoured to extract from it what they had already assimilated, and which its own limited capacities disqualified it from extracting, first hand, for itself from the rich store-house of Nature. It could live upon their work, and turn it to its own narrowly-bounded purposes. For instance: the Greek language had been perfected by the long series of generations who had used it, and who had known nothing of grammars and dictionaries: but at Alexandria it was studied for the sake of the grammar and of the dictionary. Homer had been loved in the Greek world, because he spoke to men's hearts and imaginations. He was valued at Alexandria, not for his poetry, but because he supplied a text to comment on. So with the divine dreams of Plato. Their use was that they supplied some materials for the construction of systems.

It was exactly in this spirit that the Gospel was laid on the dissecting tables of Alexandria. The object proposed was to set up a skeleton to be called Christian Theology; and to inject and arrange certain preparations, to be called Christian doctrines. Here was a strange perversion. Never were the uses to which a thing had been ingeniously turned so thoroughly alien to its real nature and design. The

objects of the Gospel were moral and religious. Its appeals were addressed to the ordinary conscience and ordinary understanding: in them its philosophy is to be found. But the systematizers of Alexandria had no taste for dealing with such materials. The Christian religion, as presented to us in their theology, has not one particle of the Gospel in it: no heart, no soul; no human duties, no human motives —nothing human, nothing divine. It is something as hard and as dry as a mummy; and would be as dead were it not for its savage, truculent spirit. It is an attempt to construct a material god, mechanically, of body, parts, and passions: the Egyptian passions of the day; such as burnt, volcanically, in the hearts of the crocodile haters and crocodile worshippers of Ombos and Tentyra, and impelled them to eat each other's still quivering flesh, and drink each other's blood hot. The watch-word, the source, the mainspring, of Christ's religion, the one word that fulfils it, is absent from this travesty of it.

This anatomical Christianity, in which there is no Gospel, this systematic divinity in which there is nothing divine, this mechanical theology which obscures the idea of God, which Alexandria had the chief hand in inflicting on the world, was a grievous infliction. Christendom is still suffering from it. It is the anatomy of a body from which the heart, the blood, the flesh, the muscles, all that rendered it a living power, and made it beautiful and beneficent, have been removed. It is the systematization of a *Hortus Siccus*. It is a theology that kills religion, in order that it may examine it. The religion that is fixed and formulated; a matter of definitions, and quantitive proportions; that can be handled and mea-

sured, and weighed; that can be taken to pieces and put together again by a monk in his cell, just as if it were a Chinese puzzle; cannot be the living growth of minds that are ever enlarging, and consciences that are ever becoming more sensitive. It cannot, indeed, as far as these things go, be a religion at all. A religion, though burdened with them, and perpetually dragged by them into the sphere of formalism, controversy, and passion, may, and will, live on in spite of them; for nothing can kill religion. Still the two are antagonistic and incompatible.

The Alexandrian theologians interpreted Christianity in accordance with the criticism, the knowledge, the ignorance, the mind, and the conscience of their day. They could hardly have done otherwise. They came from caves in the desert and from old tombs, and they returned to them for fresh inspiration. They had a right to interpret things according to the light that was in them. So have we. Our light, however, is somewhat different from theirs. "The New Commandment" was not one that at all commended itself to their sepulchral troglodytic minds. It finds no place in their creeds. We, however, give it the first place in ours. The perfect law of liberty was unintelligible to them; their only thought about it was to make it impossible: to us it is as necessary as the air we breathe. They held that man is for the creed: we that the creed is for man. Which is right makes much difference.

For the traveller who is desirous of seeing the present in connection with the past Alexandria has many other reminiscences. Homer mentions the Isle of Pharos which formed the harbour. On this classic rock Ptolemy Philadelphus built a magnificent light-

house of white marble. This was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Its name, which was borrowed from the rock on which it had been placed, has passed into most of the languages of Europe as the appellative of these useful structures. We, however, who use them more largely than any other people, and who have in our Eddystone the finest and most interesting structure of this kind in the world, built under widely different conditions from those of the tideless middle sea, very properly give to them a name of our own.

The causeway, three-quarters of a mile in length, which was formed for the purpose of connecting Ptolemy's Pharos with the mainland, having been enormously expanded, in the course of two thousand years, by the same process which, in the same period, has raised the present to more than twenty feet above the original level of Rome, is now the Frank quarter of the city. The whole of this space must, therefore, in the time of Homer, and down to the time of Alexander, have been under water.

The city, having become the capital of Egypt, grew rapidly in population, wealth, and splendour. The Ptolemies disposed of the revenue of Egypt, which had now become the chief entrepôt of the commerce of the world; and they spent it with no niggard hand in embellishing their capital. Few great cities have had so large a proportion of their space occupied by magnificent public buildings. Nothing, however, need be said here of its palaces, theatres, and temples, except that they were worthy of the city which filled the first place among the cities of the Greek world, and, in the universal empire of the Cæsars, was second only to Rome.

Pompey's Pillar, as the inscription upon it informs us, was erected in honour of Diocletian.

Cleopatra's Needle had originally stood at Heliopolis, where it had been set up by Thuthmosis III. It was transplanted from Heliopolis to Alexandria by one of the Roman emperors, after the time of Cleopatra. It had been cut from the granite quarries of Syene. It has, therefore, travelled from the John o'Groat's House to the Land's End of Egypt.

Its deservedly world-famous library recurs to every one who thinks about Old Alexandria. No other library had ever such a history. It was founded two hundred and eighty-three years before the Christian era; that is to say, before Rome had entered on her Punic wars. In the Greek world a public library had never before been heard of. It was connected with a great mass of buildings called the Museum, which was a kind of institution for the promotion of study, discussion, and learning. Eventually it contained 700,000 volumes. Of these 400,000 were at the Museum; the remainder were in a building connected with the great Temple of Serapis. With the Ptolemies the enrichment of this library was always a great concern. They dispersed their collectors wherever books were to be obtained; and were ready to pay the highest price for them. It was the boast of the city that the library contained a copy of every known book. At last it was overtaken by the fate which awaits all the works of man. In Cæsar's attack on the city the great Library of the Museum was accidentally burnt. The library, therefore, which is supposed to have been destroyed by the command of the Caliph Omar could only have contained the books that might have remained to his time of the inferior Library of the

Serapeum. This we know had been very much dilapidated by neglect, and in other ways, during the intervening seven centuries of occasional violence and constant decay. One, however, is hardly disposed to acquiesce in the opinion on this subject of the historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire:* for, among so large a collection of books, there must, one would suppose, have been some precious works of antiquity which we should now value highly, but which were then lost to us irreparably.

While we regard with reverence this great library, both for the antiquity of the date of its establishment, and for the useful and noble purposes it was intended to serve, those of perpetuating and extending knowledge, we should be guilty of an injustice if we were to forget that it was not the first institution of its kind. The idea of establishing a public library, which the Ptolemies deserve much credit for carrying out liberally and thoroughly, had nothing original in it in one country, at all events, of the world, and that one was Egypt. Eleven centuries before his time, as we have already seen, the Great Rameses in his temple-palace at Thebes had erected a public library. The walls of it are still standing. We need not repeat what we have said elsewhere about the sculptures on its walls, the inscription over its door, the manuscripts dated from it still in existence, and the tombs of its librarians. This was done more than three thousand years ago. Perhaps, then, other ideas and practices we may be in the habit of regarding as modern, were also familiar to the Egyptians of that remote day. Those times, indeed, may, in some not unimportant matters, be virtually nearer to us than the times of our Edwards and Henries.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CAIRO.

Mores hominum multorum, et urbes.——HORACE.

JUST as the interest of Alexandria belongs to what we call antiquity, so does Cairo derive the whole of its interest from existing sources. I say what we call antiquity, for by that word we mean the classical period of Greece and Rome; and the classical period is in reality the connecting link between this modern world of ours and the old primæval world of Egypt: it is thus only the true middle ages of universal history; while true antiquity is the domain of Egypt. But as to Cairo: El Islam is of the things that now are, and Cairo was never anything but a Mahomedan city. Its most interesting memories are of the mighty Saladin, who fortified it, and preferred it to all other cities. It is the true capital of Arabdom. Not its holy city, but its Paris. Its history is all of Caliphs and Kedivés.

But the first thing to understand about any famous city is how it came to be where it is. Cairo is where it is, because Memphis was where it was. Its site is the natural centre of Egypt. It occupies, by the dispensation of Nature, the place in Egypt which the heart does in the human body. Being situated at the

apex of the Delta, it commands the axis of communication throughout the whole of the upper country, and all the divergent lines of communication which traverse the Delta. He who establishes himself here has cut the country in two; and can concentrate all its resources, or assail any point at his will. It is the vital centre. Just so was it with Memphis under the old Monarchy and the Hyksos, and during the subsequent history. No sooner had an invader got a firm footing here than the rest of the country was prostrate and helpless. The master of Cairo is the master of Egypt.

The city is situated on the right bank of the river, at the foot of a spur of the Mokattam, or Arabian, range of hills. In order to get drinkable water it was necessary that it should be placed so low as that the water of the river might be brought into it. The reader is now aware that there are no springs in Egypt, and that the water of the wells, from the nature of the soil, is brackish and undrinkable. There is, however, in the citadel of Cairo a well of sweet water; the well is sunk through the limestone, of course to somewhat below the depth of the height on which the citadel stands; and so it came to suggest to me the thought that, if borings were made of sufficient depth to pass completely through the nitrous alluvium of the valley, and to perforate the subjacent strata, it might be possible to find water fit for drinking anywhere and everywhere. It might not often be worth while to go to this expense, because in most places it would still be cheaper to get water from the river, but it would be interesting to ascertain whether, or no, good water could be obtained in this way. If so, there would then be one small matter at all events which had escaped the sagacity of the old Egyptians.

But to return to the site of Cairo: the level ground on which it stands, beginning at Boulak, its harbour on the river, reaches back about a mile, where it is met by the high ground which enters the city at the south-east angle. On this point stands the citadel commanding the city. The hills of the range which throws out this spur are seen rising to a considerable height on the east of Cairo. They are utterly devoid of vegetation; and being of about the colour of the sand of the desert, (they are of limestone) they glare in the sun, and are very striking and conspicuous objects in the scenery of the place. Wherever you leave the city, except at its north-west angle, and in the direction of the river, you enter at once on the absolute desert.

There is no view in Egypt to be compared with that from the Citadel of Cairo. The city, with all its oriental picturesqueness, is at your feet. Domes and minarets are everywhere. You look over it, and your eyes rest sometimes on the green culture, sometimes on the drab desert of Egypt. Beyond, stretching away till it is lost in the haze of distance, is the Valley of Egypt. Through it winds old Nile. It is closed on either side by the irregular ranges of the Libyan and Arabian hills. You know that these pass on through Egypt into Nubia, as the boundaries of the valley. Beyond the river, at the distance of eight or nine miles, on the lower stage of the Libyan range, stand the Great Pyramids of Gizeh. Further off, at about double the distance from you, stand the older Pyramids of Abouseir. Seen from no other point are the pyramids so impressive. There they stand, at the entrance of the valley, and have stood for more than five thousand years, to tell all who might come down

into Egypt of its greatness and glory. They have none of the forms or features of architecture. They are mountains, escarped for monuments, by Titans' hands.

And a little further on are the mounds of Memphis. There lived the men—one would give something to see a day of the life of that old world—who imagined and made these mountains. You remember that all you saw of them at Memphis was a colossal statue prostrate on the ground. As you look now on the pyramids you understand that Colossus. These Titan builders felt themselves more than men.

You think how pleasant it would be to sit here on the parapet of the citadel, smoking the calumet of memory and imagination; your dear friend, however, who is with you, and who is the most patient and best fellow living, has had enough of it; and he summons back your thoughts from their flight into the far-off tracts of antique time, by a proposal to take another look at the Khan Khaleel Bazaar. As you move away you tell him, to be revenged, "that history, like religion, has no power over those who have no imagination; or an imagination furnished only with the images of their own sight-and-self-bounded world." "Nonsense," he replies; and you find yourself again jostling your way through the narrow, crowded, irregular streets of Cairo, upon an ass, with a spider-limbed swarthy urchin running before you to clear your path. And though everybody seems to submit to him, and to attend readily to his shouts of "right," "left," "mind your legs," you will always have to keep a sharp look-out yourself. You will often be brought to a stand-still. There are no trottoirs. The people on foot, the camels, the donkeys, are all jumbled up together. The projecting load on the camel's sides seems almost

arranged for giving you a lick on the head, and knocking you off your ass.

At last you emerge from the side streets into the Mouské. This is the main artery of the city, and here is the full tide of Cairene life. It is now between four and five o'clock, and the tide is at the top of the flood. The street is straight, and, for a Cairene street, wide enough; the crowd is great; but here everybody, as a matter of course, endeavours to make way for everybody. What you first notice is the abundance of colour. The red tarboosh is perhaps the commonest covering for the head. The turbans vary much; some are of white muslin; some of coloured shawls. The variety of dress is great. Nineteen-twentieths of the passers by are clad in some form or other of oriental costume. Their complexions vary as much as their dress. There is every shade, from the glossy black of the Nubian to the dead white of the Turk. The predominant colours are the different shades of yellowish brown which have resulted from the varying degrees of intermixture of Arabs and Copts. Here, at home, the men being at work during the day, it often happens that there are as many women in the street as men. In Cairo the former are often entirely wanting in the street scene, and are never seen in a large proportion. In stature the men are almost always above what we call the middle height, well proportioned, and never fat or pursy, like our beef-eating and beer-drinking people. Their features are regular and pleasing. Their bearing staid and dignified.

There are in the crowd men with water-skins and water-jars. For some insignificant coin—there are four hundred paras in a shilling—they sell drinks to thirsty souls. There are hawkers of bread, of fish, of

vegetables, of dates, of oranges, and of a multitude of other matters. These articles are generally cried, if not in the name of the prophet, still with some pious, or if not so, then with some poetical, formula. Perhaps a carriage of the Viceroy passes containing some of the ladies of the harem. They will be escorted by two black guardians of the harem on horseback, one on each side of the carriage, and preceded by two runners carrying long wands, and dressed in spotless white, with the exception of their red fezes and gaily-coloured shawls. The latter they use as sashes. Each will have cost them fifteen pounds or more.

When you have become accustomed to the people in the streets you look at the people in the shops: of course not the Frank but the native shops. These are merely recesses in the walls of the houses which form the street. The merchant or shopkeeper seldom lives in the house in the ground floor of which his shop is situated, but generally somewhere at a distance. He has no shopmen or assistants. The recess in which he carries on his business, if large, is about in space a cube of ten or twelve feet. It has no door or windows, but is closed with shutters, which the shopkeeper takes down when he comes to do business. He puts them up whenever he wants to go to Mosk, or elsewhere. When his shop is open for business he will be seen seated, cross-legged, on the floor in front of his goods. Every shop being a dark hole, and having its owner seated in front of it, reminded me of a prairie-dog village, where every hole has a prairie dog seated in front of it, much in the same way, and, too, on the look out. These traders appear to have no Arab blood in them, but to be Greeks, Jews, Turks, Syrians, anybody and everybody except the people of

the country. Many of them have an unhealthy appearance. Few of them are good-looking.

As to the houses, what most frequently attracts the eye is the carved wood lattice of the windows. The first floor is frequently advanced beyond the ground-floor. The archway of the door is, in the better class of houses, often ornamented with carved stone-work; and the door itself decorated with a holy text, reverently; perhaps, also, with some lurking idea of excluding evil influences.

But this style of building is now becoming obsolete; and the new houses in and around the Esbekeyeh, and between the Esbekeyeh and Boulak, are being built in the Frank style. The Viceroy has here, for the space of about a square mile, laid out broad macadamized streets, with broad trottoirs on each side, as if he were contemplating an European city. Not much, however, with the exception of these roadways, has yet been done towards carrying out his grand designs, except around the Esbekeyeh. This is the grand *place* or square of Cairo. It now contains a public garden that would be an ornament worthy of any great European city. It is well lighted with gas made from English coal. As you go to the opera—for there is an opera, too, in Cairo—and return after it is over to your hotel, you are glad of the light; but you are, at the same time, conscious of a little sentimental jar. You did not go to Egypt to find coal gas, and London gas lamp-posts in the city of Saladin, and of the Caliphs, and in the land of the Pharaohs. You are no longer surprised that the new houses are built in the Frank style.

The Mosks of Cairo may be counted by the hundred. Some have great historical interest; some

great artistic merit; some are the great schools of the country.

The old Mosks of Cairo throw much light on the history of the pointed arch, particularly the oldest of them all, that of Ahmed Ebn e' Tooloon; which, however, is in so ruinous a condition that it is no longer in use. Its date, as recorded in two Cufic inscriptions on the walls, is 879 A.D.—that is to say, three hundred years before the pointed arch was adopted in this country. It is very improbable that this Mosk of Tooloon was the first building in which it was used, because it is not introduced here hesitatingly, as would have been done had it been struggling for recognition, but is boldly and firmly carried out in every part of the structure, and even with some combination of the horse-shoe shape, as if it were a form with which the architect had become familiar. So great a change in construction, and in the effects produced by form, must have had to fight for some time against previously established forms. We may, therefore, safely decide that its introduction reaches further back than the date just given. This is saying that the world is indebted for it to Saracenic thought and taste. This need not surprise us, because at that time there was no people whose thought was so prolific; and it was prolific because it had been aroused to effort by the great achievements of the times. Just as we learn to walk by walking, and to talk by talking, so do men learn how to do great things by doing great things. Other Cairene Mosks continue this history of the pointed arch.

The Mosk of Sultan Hassan has features that are worth noticing. Few buildings exhibit greater freedom of design, which comes, I suppose, of that depth of feeling which is able to break the fetters of thought.

Such a structure could have been the product only of a time when mind was deeply moved, and felt its power. Men knew then what they wanted, and believed in their own power to satisfy their want. In such times servile imitations and reproductions are impossible. They do not express what all feel. They do not supply what all are asking for. In this Mosk the porch, the inner court, the astonishing height of the outer wall, springing from the declivity of the hill-side, all the details, and the whole general effect, show that those who built it were conscious of real, deep aspirations, and were not acting under factitious ones; and that they were conscious also of possessing within themselves the power of giving form to their aspirations. It interprets to us the mind of its builders. They were full of vigour and self-reliance. They yearned to give expression, in forms of beauty and grandeur, to what was stirring within them.

As I was thus communing, historically, with the intense Mahomedan feeling which had given a voice to every stone in the building, I was interrupted by another voice, but it was one of a kind which we may presume will never have a thought of clothing itself in forms of beauty and grandeur. "Look," it said to me, "up there at those crosses." "No," I replied. "It is impossible. There can be no crosses here." The objects I was invited to look at crown the cornice of the central hypœthral court. They bear some kind of resemblance to *fleurs de lis*. "Yes," the voice continued. "Any one can now see just how it all is. These are the old places from which those ritualists get their mediæval crosses, and all that kind of thing."

The great Mosk of El Azar is the university of Egypt, and of the surrounding countries. The foreign

students are divided according to nations. Those of Egypt according to the provinces they come from. The cycle of religion, law, science, and polite learning, as these words are understood in the East, is here taught. Some come merely to qualify themselves for professions or occupations in which what they may acquire here will be needed. Others come with the intention, as was contemplated in our own universities, of life-long study.

Some of the tombs of the Memlook, and of other dynasties that have ruled modern Egypt, are good examples of oriental tastes and feeling. These tombs are generally connected with Mosks. This connection was intended to add dignity to the tomb, and to enhance its sacredness. The Mosk and tomb together are regarded as the monument of the deceased prince. The desire to honour the dead has, in many of these monuments, produced admirable work, the beauty of which is proportionate to the depth of the desire which prompted it. Sad, however, is it to see such beautiful work now falling into decay. New dynasties in the East care nothing for the monuments of the dynasties that preceded them.

The money spent in building the utterly useless Mosk of Mohamed Ali in the citadel would have put into repair all these monuments, which abound not more in exquisite work than in historical interest; and which, then, would have been secured to the world for some centuries longer at least. But nothing of this kind can be expected of Orientals. To repair and maintain the monuments of past generations is not an idea that has ever commended itself to their minds. People build there to show forth their own greatness, and to perpetuate their own names. If, therefore, I have money to spend on wood and stone, why should

I so spend it as to perpetuate another man's name, and to set forth the greatness of some other builder? For this is what I should do if I repaired his Mosk, or palace. Would it not be wiser for me to spend it in perpetuating my own name, and setting forth my own greatness?

To us there occurs the thought of the historical value of the monuments of the past. This, however, is not an idea that can have any place in the mind of an Oriental. He has no conception of the historical value of anything; nor has he any idea of what history itself is. There can be no history where there is no progress; and his religion, by settling everything once for ever, excludes from his mind the idea of progress, and with it goes the idea of history.

But still, from our point of view, it is a waste of money and labour to build when you might repair. To repair is cheap, to build is costly. But this is precisely what commends the oriental practice to the oriental mind. That it will cost much money and much labour pleases him. In matters of this kind, ideas of prudence and utility have no place. An hundred kings of England, we can imagine, occupying in succession Windsor Palace, and preferring it simply on account of its antiquity, to anything they might be able to build themselves. Every one of them would think it a folly to entertain the idea of building another palace. But every Kedivé of Egypt, just like every King of Nineveh, must build a new one.

Private houses in Cairo appear to be in the same predicament as the Mosks. None are kept in a state of repair. Everything is either being built, or is falling into decay.

Every other Englishman you meet in Cairo, and

it is more or less so throughout the East, has some story to tell you of the rapacity and roguery of the bazaars. The complaint is made somewhat in the following style :—"What do you think of that slippered and turbaned old villain, of whom I bought this amber mouthpiece, and this kafia, having had the conscience to ask me four napoleons for each of them? I was not going to be done in that way, so I said to him, 'You shocking cormorant, I'll give you four napoleons for the two: not one para more. Four napoleons is my figure.' 'Four napoleons!' he said, with a shudder, 'I give you the things for nothing. Take them away with you.' And he pretended to put them into my hand. But I showed him the money. He could not stand the sight of the gold; and so you see I have got the amber, and the silk, at a fair price?" Well: perhaps you have; or, perhaps, you have given too much for them, after all. But your story is no proof that the old fellow in slippers and turban was a rogue. It is you who do not know the customs of the country. In this matter their customs are different from ours. With us there is so much competition in trade, that all the leaning is the other way. Every trader wishes to attract by the lowness of his prices. But still, here as there, the rule is to buy as cheap, and sell as dear as you can. This is the rule on which the slippered and turbaned old fellow acts. He knows, though it is very hard for him to admit the idea—yet he admits it without understanding how it can be so—that you are travelling for your amusement. He, therefore, infers that you must have plenty of money to spare: otherwise you could not be travelling in this way. You want this kafia, or mouthpiece. There is no regular market-price where there is so little

competition. So he will try to get for it as much as he can. Small blame to him for that. When you command the market at home for any article, what do you do yourself? You ask for it what you can get, without reference to cost price. You sell a good weight-carrying hunter at a fancy price. You sell a piece of land to a neighbour at an accommodation price. If you can't get what you asked at first, you abate something, and take less. He does the same.

You go into a shop anywhere in Italy, say a bookseller's, and ask the price of a book. "So many lire," he replies: several more than he intends to take. He will receive it, if you give it; but he does not expect you to give it. He is very fond of a little talk; and to have a little talk with you is an agreeable addition to the pleasure of selling the book. You call this, contemptuously, chaffering; or, angrily, cheating. It is detestable to you, but it is the reverse of detestable to the Italian bibliopole. You are annoyed about it. He can't understand why.

But to go back to our friend in the slippers and turban. The seat he invites you to take, and the coffee and pipe he offers to you, imply that he supposes you will not give what he asks at first; and that the price ultimately agreed upon will be the result of a long negotiation. He is in no hurry: nor, as I can show, is he without conscience. I bought a pair of bracelets of one Mohammed Adamanhoury, in the Khan Khaleel. I had liked the appearance of the bracelets, and I had asked the price. It did not occur to me at the moment that I was in Cairo, or perhaps what was the regular practice in transactions of this sort in Cairo. Perhaps I had fallen into this temporary oblivion, because the conversation and bear-

ing of Mohammed were pleasant. I had brought him a little souvenir from an Englishman who had travelled throughout Syria with him, and knew his many estimable qualities. Mohammed's beard was just beginning to be grizzled with age, so he had had time to see the world, and to know it. His complexion was fair for Egypt, a pale yellowish brown. His features, singly, and in their general expression, were good. His shawl-turban, and shawl-sash, and all his get up were unexceptionable. His voice and manner were as smooth as oil. His style of conversation perceptibly flowery and complimentary; but that is the manner of his people. I should myself of all things have liked to have travelled through the East with him. It would have been very pleasant at the time; and not unpleasant afterwards to be one's self remembered, and talked of, as he talked of my friend whom, a year or two back, he had accompanied in his wanderings. But about the bracelets: I had given, without hesitation or comment, what he asked. A friend I was travelling with finding me at his shop, and seeing what I had bought, would like to have a pair of the same kind of bracelets. He asked the price. I told him. "No," interposed Mohammed, "your friend gave all I asked; and, therefore, I must name a less price to you." Conscience is then not extinguished utterly in those who ask, at first, for the goods they are selling more than the cost price, plus the legitimate profit (if there be such a thing as legitimate profit). Mohammed Adamanhoury of the Khan Khaleel is my demonstration.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE CANALIZATION OF THE ISTHMUS.

Sic vos non vobis.——VIRGIL.

I WENT from Cairo to the Suez Canal by the new branch railway from Zakazeek to Imailia. The original direct line from Cairo to Suez has been abandoned on account of the expense both of working the inclines over the intervening high ground, and of supplying a line through the desert with water, a great part of which had to be carried in skins on camels' backs.

As you pass along the rails you see, in the occurrence here and there of patches of alluvial soil in the desert, indications of former cultivation. This cultivable soil must have been created by the water of the old Bubastis Canal. You see, also, that cultivation is now re-establishing itself all along the Sweet Water Canal, which supplies the towns and stations of the Suez Canal with drinking water as it did, from the first and throughout its excavation, the army of fellahs that was employed on the work. The fact is that there is a great deal of argillaceous matter in what appears to be merely the grit and siliceous sand of the desert: all, therefore, that is requisite for rendering it fertile is a sufficiency of water.

The history of the canalization of the desert is full of interest. The earliest attempt of the kind with which we are acquainted is that ascribed to the Great Rameses. The first canal was between fifty and sixty miles in length. It left the Nile at Bubastis, and reached the neighbourhood of Lake Timsah. Upon it Rameses built his two treasure cities Pithom, and Ramses, mentioned in the first chapter of Exodus. By treasure cities is probably meant strongly-fortified places, in which were caravanseries for the trade with Asia, and large depôts of the warlike materials kept in store by the king for his Asiatic campaigns. That they could have been treaure cities in the ordinary acceptation of the word treasure is impossible. That would not have been kept on the most exposed border of the kingdom; and the treasury of Rameses must have been at Thebes, his capital, at the other extremity of Egypt. Herodotus, and others mention Pithom. The site of Ramses, though its name occurs nowhere, excepting in Exodus, has been ascertained by the discovery of a granite statue of Rameses, between the figure of the two gods, Ra and Atmu, with the name of the king several times repeated in the inscription upon it. This was found at the time of the French expedition. Rameses must have been worshipped in his own city; and his being placed between these two gods, in this piece of sculpture, shows that it belonged to a temple. The mound, therefore, of rubbish from which was disinterred this group of figures in which the king is presented as an object of worship, must be the *débris* of the city of Ramses. There is no doubt about the site of Pithom.

Especial interest is attached to these cities. We know that the Israelites were employed in building

them: and, as it seems probable that the cities and canal were parts of a single plan, we may suppose that the Israelites were forced to labour in the construction of the canal also. Of this a part, that near Bubastis, still remains in use. With how much interest then does it become invested, when we feel that we may regard it as the possible, even as the probable, work of the people Moses led out of Egypt. At all events we can stand on the ruins of the cities they built with the certainty that here was the scene of their labours. But something more remains to be said. We have in this first chapter of the history of the canalization of the isthmus an ascertained date, which enables us to fix the date of the exodus. The oppression took place in the reign of the Pharaoh who preceded the one to whose reign the exodus belongs. As then the oppression took place in the reign of the builder of Pithom and Ramses, the exodus must have occurred in the reign of his son, and successor, Menophres.

The extension of the cultivated soil of Egypt was only a secondary object in the construction of this canal. Its main object was to strengthen that side of Egypt which was exposed to invasion from the hated Hyksos. One of the greatest works of the great Rameses was the covering the whole of Egypt with a network of waterways in connection with the river. These canals, or wet-ditches had a double purpose. They would greatly extend the supply of water, in exact proportion to which was the capacity of Egypt for supporting life; and they would also have an invaluable defensive utility, for they would render it impossible for a mounted army, such as that of their north-eastern neighbour would be, to overrun the country. This canal, then, branching off from the Nile at

Bubastis, and running out for sixty miles into the desert, with the strong cities of Pithom and Ramses upon it, would be the first check to an invading army, which would have either to turn the canal, or to sit down in the desert before those cities. The history, therefore, of the canalization of the desert begins with a work, the first object of which was national defence, and which also greatly promoted the (in its case) secondary object of national extension. To create a means of communication between the two seas is not a purpose we are under any necessity for ascribing to the designers of this first canal.

We have spoken of Rameses as its constructor, and the reasons for assigning it to him are amply sufficient, still it may be as well to remember that it might have dated far back beyond his time. The Egyptians had been great then for more than a thousand years in canal making. This implies familiarity with the art of taking levels, and with other branches of hydraulic engineering. The Bahr-Jusuf Canal, which ran parallel to the river throughout almost the whole of the valley of Egypt, and was many times as great a work as this Pithom-Ramses Canal, had been constructed at so remote a time that all tradition of its date and construction had been lost. Amenemha, under the old primæval monarchy, had carried out enormous hydraulic works in the Faioum; and Menes, the first human name in Egyptian history, had been great in this department of engineering. There would, therefore, have been no difficulty whatever in this particular canal we are now speaking of having been constructed many ages before the time of the great Rameses; and the district through which it passed was one to which much attention had long been directed, both

for the purpose of strengthening it against any sudden inroad, and because it was the necessary base of operations in all their invasions of Asia. It is, however, easy to wander about in the region of possibilities; what we know with certainty is that this canal existed in the time of Rameses, that he fortified it, and that he had the credit of having constructed it.

There is no evidence that he seriously entertained the project of connecting the Nile with the Red Sea by the prolongation of the canal. Some such idea must have occurred to so sagacious a people as the Egyptians of that day, and they would have found no difficulty in carrying it out. They made, however, no attempt of the kind. The reason is on the surface. Defence was what people were then thinking about, and a through waterway would only have been making a road for their enemies; and it would have been one of which Arabs, as they have always shown a certain kind of aptitude for maritime affairs, and as the inlet to it might have been easily reached by sea, would not have been slow in availing themselves.

Perhaps also the reason given by Aristotle had some weight. It was known that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Bitter Lakes, the influx, therefore, of the salt water, which might take place through the canal, if it were extended to the sea, might, it was feared, overwhelm a great deal of land which had lately been brought into cultivation by aid of the fresh water of the canal from Bubastis.

The date of the first canal, supposing it to be no earlier than the time of Rameses, was the fourteenth century before our era. It was still in use in the time of Herodotus, being then about one thousand years old. Necho, who planned and carried out the expedi-

tion that circumnavigated Africa, and who of all the Pharaohs was the one most disposed to maritime enterprise, was naturally inclined to the idea of connecting the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean by some system of internal navigation. But whatever his designs were, he does not appear to have gone further in their execution than the extension of the canal of Rameses, which had then been in existence at least seven hundred and fifty years, as far as the Bitter Lakes. Herodotus was informed that he abandoned the enterprise on having been told by an oracle that he was working for the barbarians.

Darius, in the time of the Persian occupation of Egypt, carried out the grand idea to its completion, by extending the work of Rameses and Necho to the Red Sea. As there had, all along, been an apprehension of the effect upon cultivation of admitting into the land the salt water, we find, as we might have anticipated, that it was not allowed to flow freely into the Bitter Lakes, but was kept back by a lock. The connection of the Red Sea and Mediterranean by an unbroken water-way was now complete. A vessel might leave the Red Sea at the modern Suez, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, and enter the Mediterranean at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. This through communication was in actual use in the time of Herodotus. Darius's completion of the work followed Necho's extension at an interval of about a century.

The ensuing century and a half was a period of troubles and decadence. We are, therefore, not surprised to hear that when Alexander the Great entered Egypt, he found the canal no longer open. A larger expenditure may have been required to keep up the banks, and to dredge out the sand that was always

drifting into the channel, than could have been commanded in such times, and so it had fallen into decay, and become impassable.

Another century elapses; order and prosperity have been restored to Egypt; and Ptolemy Philadelphus re-opens the connection of the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea. He did not clear out the old Canal of Darius which had been blocked up, and abandoned, but cut a fresh one. He had it constructed of sufficient width and depth to allow ships of war to pass from the Sea to the Lakes, intending to carry it through, on the same scale, to the Mediterranean. But this magnificent project had to wait two thousand years for its realization. It is, however, possible that Ptolemy did not contemplate the direct route. If his war-vessels could have found water enough in the Bubastic branch he would of course have contented himself with enlarging, and deepening the Bubastic Canal. We are told that his design was that of a canal 100 feet in breadth, and 40 feet in depth. The latter appears incredible, because unnecessary. He built Arsinöe, the modern Suez, at the Red Sea terminus of his canal, at which he constructed locks to exclude the salt water, and retain the fresh.

There was also a second canal from the Nile to the neighbourhood of Lake Timsah in the mid-desert. It was known by the name of the Emperor Trajan. It left the river at Babylon, a few miles to the south of the site of modern Cairo. It thus received its supply of water from a higher level than the canal of Rameses. It watered a new district in its passage through the desert.

The canals are now lost to sight for several centuries. At last, 644 A.D., they are again rescued

from the obscurity into which they had fallen by the Caliph Omar, who repaired, and restored them to use. About a century after his time they were again destroyed.

There was then nothing new in the idea, or in the fact, of a water communication between the two seas. The old Egyptians had fully debated the question of whether it was better to have, or not to have it. If they had thought it advisable to undertake it, they would have engineered it in the completest manner, and on the grandest scale. They, however, rejected the plan from motives of policy. The idea was actually carried out, and through communication kept up by Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Saracens. *Apropos*, then, to the recent opening of the Suez Canal, we may say that the thing itself is more than two thousand years old: the idea more than three thousand.

That it is direct, that is one hundred miles in length, instead of indirect which made the navigation nearly double that length, is the difference, and the gain.

The only absolutely new point is that it is a salt water, and not a fresh water canal; and with respect to this, I think we may feel certain that if old Rameses, or Necho had engineered it, instead of M. Lesseps, it would not have been as it is. They would have decided in favour of fresh water, because they could then have constructed it at half the cost; and would, furthermore, by so doing, have had a supply of water in the desert, sufficient for reclaiming a vast extent of land, which would have more than repaid the whole cost of construction. Instead of cutting a canal deep in the desert at an enormous cost, they would, as it were, have laid a canal on the desert. This they

would have done by excavating only to the depth requisite for finding material for its levées, and for the flow of the water which was to be brought to it from some selected point in the river. It is evident that this kind of canal might have been made wider, and deeper, than the present one at far less cost. The river water would then have filled the ship canal, just as it now does the sweet-water canal parallel to it. The sweet-water canal now reaches Suez. A sweet-water ship-canal might have done the same. As far as navigation is concerned, the only difference would have been that locks would have been required at the two extremities, such as Darius, and Ptolemy had at Arsinöe. These locks would have been at Suez, and at the southern side of Lake Menzaleh.

But the diminution in the cost of construction, say 8,000,000*l.*, instead of 16,000,000*l.*, would not have been the chief gain: that would have been found in the fact that the canal would have been a new Nile in a new desert. It would have contained an inexhaustible storage of water to fertilize, and to cover with life, and wealth, a new Egypt.

It was natural that the French should have been the most prominent supporters of this scheme. Every Frenchman appeared to come into the world with the idea in his mind that France, by the order and constitution of Nature, was as fully entitled to Egypt as she was to the left bank of the Rhine; and that nothing but an unaccountable combination of envy and stupidity withheld the human race, especially those to whom these fair portions of the earth belonged, from recognizing the eternal truth, and fitness of this great idea. Here we had a gauge for measuring the moral sense of the educated portion of the French nation. As to the

canal, their idea appears to have been that they were only making improvements in a glorious property, the reversion of which must be theirs. It would give them, too, such a footing in the country, and such materials for the manufacture of pretexts, and claims, that it would enable them almost at their will, to expedite the advent of the day when the reversion would fall to them.

I heard, while I was in Egypt, that the Imperial charlatan of France had been behaving towards us in the matter of Egypt, in the friendly and straightforward manner it appeared he had been behaving in the matter of Belgium. Our discerning friend, and stanch ally, I was told, had been confidentially exhorting the Viceroy to disregard English policy and advice, and to prepare for asserting his independence of the Sultan. Only let Egypt become an independent kingdom, and then there would be a clear field for the realization of the grand French idea M. Guizot declared, some thirty years ago, no Frenchman could ever abandon. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more easy than at any moment to find, in the affairs and management of the canal, grounds for a quarrel, that is to say, for taking possession of the country: though perhaps the world, taught by history, would predict that the attempt would not succeed. The plan was to have things ready for turning to account, at any moment, any opportunity that might arise.

The catastrophe of the last twelve months would have prevented my making any such remarks as the foregoing, were I now thinking of making them for the first time. In that case they would have appeared too much like being wise after the event; and too much, also, like being hard on those who are down. I feel my-

self, however, at liberty to make them now, for, in doing so, I am only repeating what I ventured to predict in print four years ago (the fact having even then for some years been manifest to many) that the *rôle* of the Latin race was played out. People said to me, "What can you mean? The French have the largest revenue, and the finest army in Europe, and their military glory is untarnished." My answer then was, that the French army appeared to have been changed into a Prætorian guard; and that the French nation appeared to have lost the moral instincts which compact a population into a people. Among those instincts, the sense of right and justice, the absence of which we have just been noticing, holds the first place in the formation and maintenance of political society.

There are three towns on the canal: Port Said, which is almost entirely French, Ismailia which is so to a great extent, and Suez which has a French quarter. At these places I heard that the French were far from popular: that they are regarded as arrogant, and illiberal in their dealings with the Arabs they employ; and vicious to a degree which offends even the tolerant natives, who trouble themselves very little about the morality of unbelievers. It would require some familiarity with the life of these places to know how far such accusations are true: they are only set down here because they are current among the non-French part of the population. Certainly, however, at Port Said some things are paraded which in most other places an attempt is made to keep out of sight. But Port Said is the Wapping of the canal. This town is built on a reclaimed sand-bar. The hotel is better than one would have expected. The *Place, Place* Lesseps, it is called, is ambitiously large. In some

parts of the town the stenches make you feel bad: of course on a low sand-bar there can be no drainage. It seems to do a considerable trade in pilgrims: those we saw were chiefly Russians. On being introduced to the American Consul—he appeared to be an Italian—he offered to show me his garden. It proved well worth seeing. It contained a good collection in a small space, of African, Australian, and Brazilian plants. Many, that with us require almost constant stove-heat, were flowering here, in January, in the open air. Among the inhabitants, as at Ismailia, are to be found many of the (in the East) ubiquitous Greeks.

Ismailia is very preferable every way to Port Said. It is in the heart of the desert, and on the shore of a considerable lake. I can imagine a not unprofitable or over dull month spent here by a man who finds a pleasure in coming in contact with strange sorts of people; and who also takes an interest in natural history, and botany; for the natural history, and botany of such a place must be very peculiar. It must, too, be pre-eminently healthy, for it combines the pure air of the desert with that of the sea-shore, for such is now the shore of Lake Timsah. It has a pretty good hotel, a *place* yclept Champollion, a French bazaar, a good house surrounded by a garden belonging to M. Lesseps, a more ambitious one surrounded by sand belonging to some Pasha, a promenade, and an Arab town. Ismailia might also be made the head-quarters for a great deal of very interesting Egyptological inquiry. Within easy distances are Pelusium, the Abaris of the primæval monarchy, Arsinöe, Pithom, Ramses, and Heroonpolis. Persians, Greeks, and Romans alike left their marks on this neighbourhood. Here, too, was the Goshen of the children of Israel. It would be

interesting also to ascertain how far into what is now desert reached the land that was then cultivated; and what, relatively to the sea and river, was the level of the bottom of the old canal.

Suez is in a state of rapid decay. Many houses are untenanted. This has been caused by the diversion of the traffic. What formerly passed through the town now passes by it on the canal. Here, again, the hotel is good. Its Hindoo waiters are to be preferred to the Italian waiters of Alexandria, and Cairo. They are clean, quiet, and alert. Nature seems to have fitted them for the employment, but perhaps you will think they have heads for something better.

I was two days in passing through the canal from end to end. For this purpose I chartered at Suez, jointly with two friends who happened to be with me, a small steamer. It was an open boat that might have held four passengers. The crew consisted of three men. The distance is about one hundred miles. Herodotus gives it very accurately when he says that the Isthmus is one thousand stadia.

To one who is on the look-out for scenery and life, steaming from Suez to Port Said is not a lively affair. As long as you are on the actual Canal, you pass along a straight water-way between two high banks of sand. The sky overhead is the only additional object in Nature. There is no vegetation. There are but few birds. There is no animal on the banks, or insect in the air. At long intervals there are small wooden shanties for watering stations. A great many dredging machines are passed. Some are at work; but the greater part of them are rusting, and rotting. They are large floating structures moved, and worked by steam. Each of them costs between five and six

thousand pounds. Their business is to dredge up the mud, or sand from the bottom of the Canal to a lofty stage which each carries, a little above the level of the bank. From this elevation what is dredged up is run down on an incline to the point on the bank where it is to be deposited, and there shot out. They are called mud-hoppers. They are hideous-looking objects; of all the works of man that float the most unsightly: but they are what you here see most of. You occasionally have the excitement of meeting a small steamer, carrying some official on the business of the Canal, or for his own pleasure. The officials have quite a fleet of these little steamers: almost every one his own. The rarest object on the Canal is that for which it was constructed: a vessel of one, or two, thousand tons passing through it. On the first day we saw three. This was a good day. On the second day, our good luck and that of the Canal continuing, we saw the same number. But, as the wind was fresh, two of the three, one was an English troop ship with a regiment for India on board, had got aground. Three little steam tugs were hauling away at each. It is difficult to say how large vessels, drawing within an inch or two of the greatest depth of water, and which is to be found only in the mid-channel, can manage to keep out of trouble: the margin for inattention, bad steering, for not making proper allowance for wind, &c., being not far from nil. There are mooring posts all the way along to enable one ship to make fast while another goes by. The company's regulations give them the power of blowing up a vessel they consider hopelessly grounded.

But you are not always in a straight watercourse, between two high mounds of sand. The two Bitter Lakes, and the Lakes Timsah, and Ballah are passed

through, and cover nearly half the distance. In the large Bitter Lakes you are pretty nearly out of sight of land. A glass shows you that there is a slight rise in the ground along their shores, upon which are seen, here and there, stunted tamarisks, more like shrubs than trees. The bed of these lakes, before the water was admitted, was full of detached trees of this species. They grew larger on the lower ground. The tops of some are still seen in and above the water. If, therefore, you leave the channel which is buoyed out for you, you stand a chance of being snagged. I take it for granted that in old time when none but sweet water from the Nile, brought by the Bubastis and Babylon Canals, was admitted to this district, much land now under salt water, and much more in the neighbourhood, was then under cultivation.

The evaporation from the surface of the Bitter Lakes, as might be expected in the hot dry desert, is enormous. This I was told had perceptibly affected the climate, making it more cloudy, and more inclined to occasional showers. Of course, whatever effect it has had, must be in this direction; but seeing how small a proportion these lakes bear to the contiguous seas, I am disposed to think the amount of this effect very slight. There is, however, another effect of this rapidity of evaporation, which we may measure, and weigh, and which is felt by the fish. It increases the proportion of salt in the water to such an amount, that in summer one gallon of water yields thirteen ounces of salt: a gallon of Dead Sea water yields eighteen ounces. This, last summer, killed almost all the different species of fish that had come into the lakes the previous autumn, on the first opening of the connection with the two seas. I was told that at that

time, the surface of the water was covered with the dead. It is believed that some species proved, that they possessed a power of resisting a degree of saltness they had never been exposed to before, by surviving it.

Lake Timsah is a large natural basin in the very centre of the Isthmus. As its area is much less than the Bitter Lakes, while its shores are higher, and more irregular, it possesses an approach to something like a kind of picturesqueness you might not have been expecting. In this midland harbour you find a fleet of large vessels: some of them men-of-war; some even ironclads. A sense of surprise comes over you at seeing not only a pleasing expanse of water in the thirsty, scorching waste (how one wishes it were fresh water) but in addition a fleet of mighty ships in the mid-desert.

The Suez Canal is often spoken of as the French Canal. One reason people have for speaking of it in this way is that they suppose that it was constructed by French capital. That is a mistake. It cost 16,000,000*l.* Two thirds of this; that is to say more than 10,600,000*l.*, were advanced by the Viceroy. The French, therefore, contributed what they pleased towards the remaining 5,300,000*l.* But of the larger sum, amounting to twice the whole of what the French might have contributed, supposing they had been the only shareholders, the great bulk was contributed by this country in the way of loans to the Viceroy. So that English holders of Egyptian bonds may have contributed twice as much capital to the Canal as the French did: with this difference, that they have hitherto got interest for their advances which the actual direct shareholders have not. Our advances

were made in a roundabout way; and were protected by the revenues of Egypt.

In the original concession to the French Company were included three miles of country on each side of the Canal. This gave them a considerable slice of Egypt, and a firm grip upon it. The Viceroy, however, has now recovered this land by a bargain. He agreed with the Company, if they would restore to him the whole of the land, to abandon for twelve years all claim to dividend on his two-thirds of the capital stock. He thus got back the whole of the land, including all the stations. But, as there is not much prospect of a dividend, he did not give much for it.

The traffic of the canal is increasing rapidly; and, I think, for obvious reasons must go on increasing, till it has absorbed the whole of the traffic of Europe with Asia. At first people were not prepared for it. They had not the data requisite for their calculations, and so they would hardly have been justified in building steamers in advance of the demonstration of the practicability, and advantages of the route. That demonstration is now complete: and I suppose there are now very few sailing vessels being built in this country, or anywhere else, for trading with the East. This part, therefore, of the question, may, I take it for granted, be regarded as settled. I saw one of the P. and O. boats, the *Candia*, passing through the canal. The whole of its fleet must eventually make use of it. The only wonder is that they do not do so at once; for, while they are hesitating, multitudes of other steamers, built for the India and China trade, and in which every improvement for economising coal, and for the convenience, and comfort of the passengers, has been adopted, have been put upon the line of the

canal. And as the majority of passengers object to the trouble and expense of being hurried overland from Suez to Alexandria, a great many of the old customers of the P. and O. Company, and of travellers who would have been glad to use the boats of so well-known a concern, are now going by these new boats which take the through route. And this is only what the P. and O. Company must, like the rest of the world, come to at last. Their delay is only driving the custom into the hands of their rivals. It is in fact creating, and maintaining those rivals. When, however, they have taken to the Canal, this single company will pay for its use more than 100,000*l.* a year: for they will be bound to despatch, as they do now, a vessel each way each week. The tonnage of their vessels will not be less than two thousand. The canal charges are 8*s.* a ton, so much for each berth for passengers, and some other items, which together bring up the total to not far short of 10*s.* a ton. This on a vessel of not less than 2,000 tons, will not be less than 1,000*l.* Each way this will have to be paid. But it is what others are doing; and it will be, on the whole, a gain over the present system of land-transport, for passengers and cargo from Suez to Alexandria, and *vice versâ;* and practically, whatever it may be on paper, at no loss of time.

For the Canal to take 100,000*l.* a year from one company seems a great deal: but it is a sum that is soon absorbed in the expenses of so big a concern. I understood that at the beginning of this year: it was February when I was there: they were taking about 1,000*l.* a day. This was a great advance on what had been done previously; but it implies only one ship of 2,000 tons through in the twenty-four hours. And is

very far short of what is indispensable for completing, and keeping up the Canal. This at present demands 3,000*l.* a day, or about 1,000,000*l.* a year. It seems imperative that, even if a few more inches are not added to the depth of water, the deep mid-channel should be widened.

The traffic is increasing so fast, and it is so certain, that all who can come this way will, that we may believe that the Company, whether the existing one, or some new company to which the existing one may be obliged to sell the concern, will somehow or other find the means for carrying out the necessary completions, and for maintaining the affair; but it is hard to believe that, even if every keel that cuts the Indian Ocean were, going and coming, to take this route, anything could remain over for dividend in the lifetime of the present shareholders.

We can imagine that the Viceroy, who is also the holder of two-thirds of the stock, would be very averse to such a confession of bankruptcy as the sale of the Canal would amount to.

It is natural to ask of what advantage to Egypt is this Canal? We might answer, and perhaps rightly, that if the Isthmus had been divided by the wand of a magician, and the Canal thus made at the cost of a word, or of the waving of a hand, presented to the country, the advantage would not have been very considerable. But we will take things as they are: Suppose the case of the P. and O. boats. They have hitherto discharged everything at Suez, and at Alexandria; and their passengers and cargo have been carried across Egypt. We will suppose that the cost of this operation has been for each boat 1,000*l.* The whole of this 1,000*l.* has been left in Suez, and Alex-

andria. It was so much toll paid to Egypt for so much work done in helping passengers and cargo through. But how would it stand with the same boats going through the Canal? We will suppose that they will pay precisely the same amount. But the question is, into whose hands will it go? Primarily to the account of the Company. If it should so happen that the concern has reached the point of paying dividends, a great portion will then be remitted to Europe for dividends. From that Egypt will derive no benefit; nor from that portion of the salaries of officials they may save, and remit to Europe; nor from that paid in Europe for materials, and machinery. The officials, too, being Europeans, and always in the end returning to Europe with their families, will not at all increase, or improve, the human capital, or human stock, of the country. In fact Egypt would gain little except from the small amount of native population that would be brought into being to supply the food, and some of the other wants of the officials, and others employed on the Canal. Some of these latter also, being natives, must be reckoned as part of the gain accruing to Egypt. With these small exceptions, Egypt is no more benefited by English ships passing through the Canal, than it would be by a flock of wild geese flying over the Isthmus. And so it would almost be, if it had been made by the wand of a magician, until there was a margin of profit, after the necessary outgoings for maintenance, and the working of the affair had been met. But as it happens that it was in the main constructed out of 10,600,000*l.*, lent to the Viceroy, and sunk by him in the Canal, Egypt is the worse for it by the amount of cotton, corn, and taxation it has to pay every year as interest for this 10,600,000*l.*

But the question which concerns us is, of what use will the Canal be to ourselves? To us it will be of very great use. First to our commerce. As our trade with the East is taking this route as fast as steamers—which alone can pass through the Canal and Red Sea—can be substituted for sailing-vessels, there can be no doubt but that, on the whole, it is advantageous for them. For this trade all kinds of sailing-vessels are now antiquated. That it would have been better to have left things as they were, the owners of these sailing-vessels will naturally think: but this is a rococo thought. The P. and O. Company also will, of course, have to accommodate their business to the new order of things. This will be costly and inconvenient to them: and they, too, will grumble; and, for a time, endeavour to fight against necessity. The world, however, will not be convinced with the logic of either: nor will they be convinced themselves with their own arguments.

The new order of things is superseding the old only for one reason, and that reason is that the preponderance of advantages is on its side. It does not claim the advantage in every respect. So much for the commercial side of the question, as far as we are concerned.

It is manifest that for Southern, and Central Europe the Canal is, in proportion to the amount of their trade, a still greater advantage than to ourselves. It will be a great lift to Marseilles; and even in a higher degree to some port on the Adriatic, whichever it may be that will be found most convenient for Central Europe. It may be Trieste. It may be Venice. It is a question of harbours, railways, and policy conjointly considered. If it be Venice, the channel from the sea to the quays of the Grand Canal will have to be deepened. If the

German provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire should eventually gravitate towards Northern Germany, it will, I suppose, be Trieste. Or, should a mid-European railway be completed from Hamburg to Constantinople, much of the traffic of East with West may again be attracted to the quays of the old world's Imperial centre.

But there is for us another question besides the commercial one: that is the naval one. Suppose England at war with some maritime power. It is obvious that in these times it would be impossible for us to protect our vast eastern commerce on the open ocean. But if the whole of this commerce be carried on through narrow seas it may be possible. These narrow seas for the whole distance is precisely what the Canal gives us. After having left the extreme point of China, where we have the naval station of Hong Kong, our trade will enter the Straights, where we have Singapore. It will then pass by Ceylon, another naval station. Here whatever may be coming from Calcutta and Madras will join the main stream. It will then be forwarded to Aden, which will guard the Red Sea. Malta will make the Mediterranean safe. The short remainder of the voyage will be to a great extent protected by Gibraltar, and Plymouth. Nothing could be more complete. The canal gives us the very thing we want: a defensible route.

If, however, it should prove that this forecast of its advantages to us in war is correct, it would seem to follow that, in time of war, we should be under the necessity of holding it ourselves; or, at all events, of occupying its two extremities. We should be obliged to take care that neither an enemy blocked it up, nor a friend permitted it to go out of repair.

CHAPTER LX.

CONCLUSION.

Beatus qui intelligit.——*Book of Psalms*, VULG.

No one can see anything in Egypt except what he takes with him the power of seeing. The mysterious river, the sight of which carries away thought to the unknown interior of the great Continent, where solar heat, evaporation, and condensation are working at their highest power, giving birth abundantly to forms of vegetable and animal life with which the eye of civilized man has yet to be delighted, and instructed; the lifeless desert which has had so much effect in shaping human life in that part of the world; the grand monuments which embody so much of early thought and earnestness; the contrast of that artistically grand, morally purposed, and wise past with the Egypt of to-day; the graceful palm, and the old-world camel, so unlike the forms of Europe; the winter climate without a chill or cloud: all these are certainly inducements enough to take one to Egypt.

But just as we are dissatisfied with life's journey itself, if we can see no object in it, so are we with the travel to which a fraction of it may have been devoted, if it be resultless. Should we, when we look back upon it, be unable to see that it has had any issues

which reach into our future thought and work, it seems like a part of life wasted. For, whatever a man may have felt at the time, he cannot, afterwards, think it is enough that he has been amused, when the excitement of passing through new scenes is over, and he is again in his home,—that one spot on earth where he becomes most conscious of the Divinity that is stirring within and around him, and finds that he must commune closely with it.

But as to particulars: that which is most on the surface of what Egypt may teach the English traveller is the variety of Nature. It has not the aspects of the tropics, in which the dark primæval forest, and tangly jungle, are the predominant features; still its green palm-tufted plain, and drab life-repelling desert, are a great contrast to our hedge-divided corn-fields, and meadows; our downs, and heaths, and hills, and streams; and so are its clear sky, and dry atmosphere to our clouds and humidity. To see, and understand something about such things ought, in these days, to be part of the education of all who can afford the time and money requisite for making themselves acquainted with the riches of Nature; which is the truest, indeed the only way to make them our own. In saying this, I do not at all wish to suggest the idea that in variety, and picturesqueness of natural beauty, the scene in Egypt is superior to what we have at home. The reverse is, emphatically, the case. Every day I look upon pleasanter scenes than any Egypt can show. Scenes that please the eye, and touch the heart more. Nature's form and garb are both better here. So, too, is even the colour of her garb. To have become familiar, then, with the outer aspects of Egypt, is not only good in itself, as an addition to our mental gallery

of the scenes of Nature, but it is good also in the particular effect of enabling us to appreciate more highly the variety and beauty of our own much-diversified sea-girt home.

Of course, however, the source of deepest interest in any scene is not to be found in its outer aspect, but in its connection with man. If we regard it with the thought of the way in which man has used, modified, and shaped it, and of how, reversely, it has modified, and shaped man, how it has ministered to his wants, and affected the form, and character of his life; or if we can in any way associate it with man, then we contemplate it from quite another point of view, and with quite different feelings. Indeed it would almost seem as if this was the real source of the interest we take even in what we call the sublime, and beautiful in Nature. Man was only repelled from snow-capped mountains, and stormy oceans, till he had learnt to look upon them as the works of Intelligent Mind akin to his own. Conscious of intelligence within himself, he began to regard as grand and beautiful, what he believed Supreme Intelligence had designed should be grand and beautiful. This is the source of the sentiments of awe, and admiration, instead of the old horror, and repugnance, with which we contemplate cold and inaccessible barrier Alps, and angry dividing seas. To Homer's contemporaries who believed not that the gods had created the visible scene, but that, contrariwise, they were posterior to it, and in some sort an emanation from it, the ocean was only noisy, pitiless, and barren. And the modern feeling on these subjects has, of late, been greatly intensified, and exalted to almost a kind of religion, since men have come to think that they have discovered that these grand

objects were brought into being by the slow, and unfailing operation of certain general laws which they have themselves ascertained. So that now they feel as though they had themselves assisted at their creation: they stood by as spectators, knowing beforehand, the whole process by which Alps and Oceans were being formed. That they were able to discover the laws, and the steps by which Omnipotent Intelligence had brought it all about, alone and sufficiently demonstrated the kindredness of their own intelligence. It is the association of these ideas with natural objects that causes the present enthusiastic feeling—almost a kind of devotion—they awaken within us, and which would have been incomprehensible to the ancients, and even, in a great measure, to our forefathers. They seem like our own works. They were formed by what is in ourselves. We know all about them; as much as if we had made them ourselves.

Regarded, then, in this way, it is not the object itself merely that interests, but the associations connected with it. Not so much what is seen, as what is suggested by what is seen. The object itself affects us little, and in one way; the interpretation the mind puts upon it affects us much, and in quite a different way. In this view there are reasons why the general landscape, here, at home, should be more pleasing to us than it is in Egypt. It is associated with hope, and with the incidents, and pictures of a better life than there is, or ever has been in Egypt. I have already said that the natural features are not so varied and attractive there as here. But what I now have in my mind is the thought of the landscape as associated with man; and in this other respect also I think the inferiority of Egypt great.

The two pre-eminently grand and interesting scenes of this kind in Egypt, where our Egyptian associations with man's history culminate, I have already endeavoured to present to the imagination of the reader. They are the scene that is before the traveller when he stands somewhere to the south-east of the Great Pyramid, looking towards Memphis, and commanding the Necropolis in which the old primæval monarchy is buried, the green valley, the river, and the two bounding ranges; or, to take it reversely, as it appears when looked at from the Citadel of Cairo; and the scene, for this is the other one, which is presented to the eye, again acting in combination with the historical imagination, from the Temple-Palace of the great Rameses at Thebes, where you have around and before you the Necropolis, and the glories of the new monarchy.

What, then, are the thoughts that arise in the mind at the contemplation of these scenes? That is precisely the question I have been endeavouring to answer throughout the greater part of the preceding pages. My object now, as I bring them to a close, is somewhat different: it is to look at what we have found is to be seen in Egypt from an English point of view. This will best be done by comparing with the Egyptian scenes, which are now familiar to us, the English scene which in its historical character, and the elements of human interest it contains, occupies, at this day, a position analogous to that which they held formerly. These are subjects that are made interesting, and we may say intelligible, more readily and completely by comparisons of this kind than by any other method. Anatomical, and philological comparisons do this for anatomy, and philology; and historical comparisons will do the same for history. We shall come to under-

stand Egypt not by looking at Egypt singly, and alone, but by having in our minds, at the time we are looking at it, a knowledge of Israel, Greece, Rome, and modern Europe.

We will come to ourselves presently. We will take Israel first. It proposed to itself the same object as Egypt, that of building up the State on moral foundations, only it had to do its work under enormous disadvantages. Considering, however, the circumstances, it attained its aims with astonishing success. We must bear in mind how in the two the methods of procedure differed. So did their respective circumstances. Egypt had the security which enabled it freely and fully to develop, and mature its ideas, and its system. This precious period of quiet was no part of the lot which fell to Israel. It had to maintain itself, and grow up to maturity under such crushing disadvantages as would have extinguished the vitality of any other people, except perhaps of the Greeks, the period, however, of whose adolescence and manhood was also very different from that of Israel. At that time they had freedom, sunshine, and success. Israel, on the contrary, had then, and almost uninterruptedly throughout, storm and tempest; overthrows and scatterings. The people never were long without feeling the foot of the oppressor on their necks. Still they held on without bating one jot of hope, or heart; and by so doing made the world their debtors, just as did the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Regarding the point historically, we cannot say that one did this more than another; for, where all are necessary, it would be illogical to affirm that one is greater or less than another. Neither the seeing, nor the hearing, we are told, can boast that it is of more importance than the other; for,

were it not for the seeing, where would be the hearing? and, were it not for the hearing, where would be the seeing? In the progress of man the ideas, and principles, and experience contributed by each of these constituent peoples of humanity were necessary: and if the contribution of any one had been wanting, we should not be what we are; and that something that we should then be, would be very inferior to what we are now. We could not dispense with the gift of any one of the four. Egypt gave letters, and the demonstration of the fact that morality can, within certain limits, be deliberately and designedly shaped and made instinctive. Greece taught the value of the free development of the intellect. Rome contributed the idea of the brotherhood of mankind, not designedly, it is true, but only incidentally, though yet with a glimmering that this was its mission. Without Rome we might not yet have reached this point. Israel taught us that, if the aims of a State are distinctly moral, morality may be left to a great extent to shift for itself, no matter how great the disadvantages, both from within, and from without, under which the community has to labour; and even when morality is unsustained by the thought of future rewards and punishments: a lesson which has thrown more light on the power the moral sentiments have over man's heart than perhaps any other fact in the history of our race.

I bow down before the memory of the old Israelite with every feeling of the deepest respect, when I remember that he abstained from evil from no fear of future punishment, and that he laid down his life for truth and justice without any calculation of a future heaven. In this view the history of the world can show no such single-minded, self-devoted, heroic

teachers as the long line of Hebrew Prophets. They stand in an order quite by themselves. Socrates believed that it would be well with him hereafter. They did not touch that question. Sufficient unto them was the consciousness that what they denounced was false and wrong; and that what they proclaimed and did was true, and right.

The interest with which the Greeks turned to Egypt is well worthy of consideration. It is true they did not get much from Egypt, either in the sphere of speculation, or of practice: still for them it always possessed a powerful attraction. The reason why it was so is not far to seek. The Egyptians had done great things; and they had a doctrine, a philosophy of human life. This was that philosopher's stone the Greek mind was in search of. And they inferred from the great things done by the Egyptians (and this was not a paralogism) that there must be something in their doctrine. In fact, however, they learnt little from Egypt: for if it was the cradle, Greece itself was its Holy Land of Mind. Nor was it possible that they could learn much, for the two peoples looked upon society, and the world from quite different points of view. Greece acted on the idea that in political organization, and in the well-being of the individual, man was the arbiter, and the architect of his own fortune. Egypt acted on the supposition that these things rested on an once-for-all heaven-communicated system. Greece believed that truth was to be discovered by man himself; and that it would, when discovered, set all things right; and that freedom, investigation, and discussion were the means for enabling men to make the needed discovery. Egypt thought that truth had been already communicated; and that freedom, investi-

gation, and discussion could only issue in its overthrow. What Greece regarded as constructive, Egypt regarded as destructive. It could not therefore learn much from Egypt.

Rome, next, must be set by the side of Egypt. It will bring the two into one view sufficiently for our purpose, if we endeavour to make out what Germanicus must have thought of old Egypt, when he was at Thebes. He must often have compared it with Rome. He, of course, could only view it with the eyes of a Roman. What he was in search of was light that would aid him in governing the Roman world. Probably he came to the conclusion that the wisdom of Egypt could be but of very little use to him. The aim of Egypt had been all-embracing social order, maintained by morality, compacting the whole community into a single organism, in which every individual had his allotted place and work, neither of which he could see any possibility of his ever abandoning, or even feel any desire to abandon. Egyptian society had thus been brought, through every class and member, to do its work with the regularity, the smoothness, the ease, the combined action of all its parts, and the singleness of purpose of a machine. I need hardly repeat that they had understood that the morality by which their social order was to be maintained must be instinctive, and that they had made it so. The difference between them and other people in this matter was, that they had understood distinctly both what they wanted for their purpose, and how to create what they had wanted. Germanicus must have been aware, if he had seen this point clearly, that no government could frame the general morality of the Roman Empire; and that the single moral instinct

upon which he would have to depend, if he could create it, must be the base and degrading one of obedience and submission brought about by fear. No attempt could be made, in the world he expected to be called to govern, to cultivate an all-embracing scheme of noble and generous morality. Much, indeed, of what was best would have to be repressed, and stamped out, as hostile and subversive; as, for instance, the sentiment of freedom, and the consciousness that the free and full development of a man's inner being (in a sense the Athenian and the Christian idea) is the highest duty. He would have to provide not for what would encourage his future subjects to think for themselves, and to make themselves men, but for what would indispose them to think for themselves, and would make them only submissive subjects. He had to consider how the abundant and irrepressible elements of disorder, discontent, and corruption could be kept down: under such a system an impossible task. These evil growths of society had, each of them, been reduced to a manageable minimum, spontaneously, by the working of the Egyptian system; but, under the circumstances of the Roman world, they were inevitably fostered, and developed. The application, however, of the Egyptian system to that world was out of the question, and inconceivable. So, here, Egypt could give him no help. It could not show him how he could eliminate, or regulate these evils. He would not be able to get rid of the elements of discord and discontent in the Egyptian fashion, by creating such instincts of order and submission as would dispose every man to accept the position in which he found himself as the irreversible appointment of Nature. Nor, again, would he be able

to counteract social corruption, in the Egyptian fashion, by making virtue the aim of the State, of Religion, and of human life.

There were also two other problems to the solution of which he would have to attend. How was the ring of barbarians that beleaguered the Empire to be kept in check? and how was the enormous military force that must be maintained for the internal, as well as the external defence of the Empire, to be prevented from knowing, at all events from using for its own purposes, its irresistible, unbalanceable power? For doing everything of every kind he had to do, he had but one instrument, and that was force, law being only the machinery through which that force was to act. He could make no use of the Egyptian instruments, those, namely, of general morality, of religion, and of fixed social order. His task, therefore, however strong the hand, and clear the head which would have to carry it out, was ultimately hopeless. For one of two things must happen, either men must rebel against it, and overthrow it, or it must corrupt and degrade men. For, in the long run, nothing but law and religion, both in conformity with right reason, and aiming at moral growth, can govern men; that is to say, government must aim at human objects, to be attained by human means. Men, of course, can be controlled otherwise, but then the product is worthless. Egypt, therefore, could give him no assistance. It could only tell him that the task before him was to him an unattainable one. It was not the one the Egyptians had taken in hand, nor could it be carried out by Egyptian means.

We all know that the man who, in a period of dearth, withholds his corn for a time, is thinking only

of himself, though it eventually turns out that what he did was done unconsciously for the benefit of the community: a law, above and beyond him, had been working through him, and shaping his selfish act so that it should contribute to the general good. So was it with the Roman Empire. It subjugated, and welded together all people, merely to satisfy its own greed: but in so doing it had further unfolded, and advanced the world-drama of human history. When it had played out its part, it was seen that that part could not have been dispensed with, that it was essential to the great plot, for it was that that had given birth to, and brought to maturity, the sentiment of the unity and brotherhood of mankind.

And now at last we come to ourselves. All, including Egypt, have become teachers to us. We are the inheritors of the work of all. To us—and how pleasant is it to know this—the wisdom even of old Egypt is not quite a Dead Sea apple, something pretty to look at, but inside all dust. We can feel our connection with Egypt, and that we are in its debt; and we shall not be unworthy of the connection, and of the debt, if we so make use of them, as that those who shall come after us shall have reason to feel that they too are, in like manner, debtors to ourselves.

What we now have to do is to compare ourselves with old Egypt. Things of this kind become more intelligible when made palpable to sense by being taken in the concrete. We have looked on the scenes in Egypt which history invests with an interest that can never die, because it is an interest that belongs to humanity. By the side of them we must set the scene in the England of to-day, which holds the analogous position. Of course it must be in London. And as

it must be in London I know no better point at which we can place ourselves than on the bridge over the Serpentine, with our back upon Kensington, so that we may look over the water, the green turf, and the trees to the towers of the old Abbey, and of the Palace of Westminster. The view here presented to us is one which obliges us, while looking at it, to combine with what is actually seen what we know is lying behind and beyond it. It is not a scene for which an otiose glance will suffice, because it is precisely the connection between what is before the eye, and what is to be understood, that gives it its distinguishing interest.

What is immediately before you, in its green luxuriance of turf, and leaf, is peculiarly English; you might imagine yourself miles away from any city, and yet you are standing in the midst of the largest collection of human beings ever brought together upon the earth: what is around you is not so much the capital of England as of the world. Strange is it to find yourself in the midst of such an incomprehensible mass of humanity, and yet at the same time in the midst of a most ornate scene of natural objects—water, trees, turf. Just as in the Egyptian scenes, where the interests of its history are brought to a focus, the preponderant objects presented to the eye are graves, and temples in the desert, which tell us of how religious and sombre a cast was the thought of the Egyptians, who could see nothing in the world but God, and could regard life only in connection with death; so here, too, we find, as we take our stand in the midst of this English world-capital, that we can see nothing of it; that it is hid from our eyes by the country enclosed within it. This alone tells us something about the people. It intimates to us that those who have built this world-

wonder, have not their heart in it; that it is against the grain for them to be here: they do not love it: they do not care to make it beautiful: that unlike their Latin neighbours, they are not a city-loving people; that the first and strongest of their affections are for the green fields, the wavy trees, and the running streams; and that they have, therefore, reproduced them, as far as they could, in the midst of their great city, to remind them of what they regard as the pleasanter, and the better life. But it is strange that this very fondness for rural life is one of the causes that have contributed to the greatness of this city. It has been the love of Nature, and the hardihood of mind and body the people have acquired in their country life, which have disposed them to go forth to occupy the great waste places of the earth; and so have helped in enabling the Nature and country-loving English race to build up an Empire, out of which has grown this vast, but from the spot where we are standing in the midst of it, invisible city.

Each also of the two great buildings, whose towers are seen above the trees, has much to tell us about ourselves. There is the old Abbey, reminding us of the power religion has had, and still has over us, though not now in the Egyptian fashion of something that has been imposed upon us, but rather of something that is accepted by us; and of our determination that it shall not be constructed out of the ideas, and fixed for ever in the forms which belong to ages that, in comparison with our own really older and riper times, had something to learn, and not everything to teach. It is precisely the attempt to invest Christianity with Egyptian aims and claims, fixity and forms, which is arraying men's minds and hearts against it; and, in some parts

of Christendom, making the action of society itself hostile to it. It is this attempt which is in a great measure depriving it of the attractiveness and power it possessed in its early days when it was rightly understood. If men are now turning away from what they once gladly received, it can only be because what is now offered to them has ceased to be what it was then —the interpretation, and expression of the aspirations of their better nature. The phenomenon is explained if we have reason for believing that men then regarded Christianity as an honest organization of knowledge, thought, and morality, for the single purpose of raising and bettering human life, but now regard it as, in some measure, their priestly organization for the purpose, primarily, of maintaining priestly domination. It cannot be seen too clearly, or repeated too often, that Christianity did not originate in any sense in priestly thought, but was, on the contrary, a double protest against it, first in its own actual inception, which included a protest against priest-perverted Judaism, and antecedently in the primary conception of the previous dispensation, which included a protest against priestly Egyptianism; so that neither in itself, nor in its history, could it originally have had any priestly or ecclesiastical, but only human and moral aims. The history of old Egypt is very much the history of the character, working, and fate of such a perversion (as we must regard it now) of religion, even when the attempt is made honestly, and without any violation or contradiction of the original principles and aims of a religion.

The lamentable and dangerous consequences of this perversion of religion are to be traced in the actual moral and intellectual condition of modern Christen-

dom. We see indications of them amongst ourselves in individuals, and even in classes. The legitimate action of religion has been in many cases not merely neutralized and lost, but directly reversed. It ought to generate the instincts that contribute to the order, the unity, the building up of society; whereas, by aiming at ecclesiasticism, and endeavouring to retain what is at variance with its own true purpose, it has given rise to unavowed repugnances, to fierce antagonisms, to repulsion of class from class, and even among some of hatred to the very order of Society, that is to say it has produced instincts that contribute, and that most energetically, to disorder, disunion, and the overthrow of Society; proving the truth of the saying that nothing is so bad as the corruption of that which is best. Religion is the *summa philosophia* which interprets, harmonizes, systematizes, and directs to the right ordering of Society, and of the individual, all knowledge from whatever source derived, all true and honest thought, all noble aspirations, all good affections. Development and growth ever have been, and ever must be a law of its existence: nothing else can maintain its continuity. And as, notwithstanding this necessity of development, its end and aim must all the while, and for ever be one and the same, development and growth do not, and cannot mean the overthrow of religion, as some have told us, and will continue to tell us, but, on the contrary, the enlargement and strengthening of its foundations, and the better ordering and furnishing of the superstructure.

The very name of the building before us—The Abbey—reminds us that, as far as we ourselves are concerned, we have accepted and acted on the principle of development, adaptation, and correction in our religion.

The old name, belonging to a past order of things, is evidence that this principle has once been applied; and so it supplies us with a ground for hope that it will be applied again, whenever a similar necessity may arise. History, indeed, assures us that this must be done always, sooner or later, for in all ages and places the religion of any people has ever been, in the end, what the knowledge of the people made it; but it makes a great difference whether what has to be done be done soon, or whether it be done late. If the former, then the continuity of growth and development is not interrupted. If the latter, then there intervenes a long period of intellectual and moral anarchy, of religious and irreligious conflict. The consequences and the scars of the conflict are seen in what is established *eventually*. It is found that some things that were good have perished; and that some that are not good have become inevitable.

By the side of the old Abbey rise the towers of the Palace of Westminster—a new structure on an old site. That which first occurs to the beholder, who has old Egypt in his thoughts, is its inferiority in artistic effect to the stupendous but simple grandeur of the Egyptian Priests' House of Parliament in the hypostyle Hall of Karnak, with its *entourage* of awe-inspiring temples, its vast outer court, and its lofty Propylons. In that hall he had felt that its great characteristic was not so much its grandeur as its truthfulness to its purpose, of which there is not one trace to be found in the home of our great National Council, which one might survey carefully, both internally and externally, without obtaining the slightest clue for enabling him to guess for what purpose it was designed. But how grand, I hesitate to say how much grander, is the history which

the site, at all events, of the building we are looking at brings into our thoughts. It has not indeed numbered the years of the Egyptian Panegyries. They might have counted theirs by thousands, while our Assembly counts its by hundreds. And we must also remember that they assisted at the birth and watched by the cradle of political wisdom. True they swathed the infant in the bands of a fixed religious system; but, then, they could not have done otherwise; and what they did, under these restrictions and limitations which times and circumstances imposed upon them, was, notwithstanding, good and precious work; and we comparing that work of theirs with much that has since been done, and is now doing, see that, though it was crippled and distorted at every step by their evil necessities, it was done wisely, and well. Our Parliament had to do its work under very different, and even opposite conditions. This island, indeed this part of the world, was not an Egypt where none but corporations of priests and despotic rulers could be strong. We could not, on the contrary, be without chieftains' strongholds and strong towns too. While, therefore, with us the armed possessors of these strong places accepted religion, they could resist, and forbid ecclesiastical encroachments, and could thus save Society, through saving the State, from ecclesiastical domination. They were strong and free, and so could nurture freedom, instead of standing by, and looking on while it was strangled, and buried out of sight. They were, too, the heirs of Israelite, Greek, Roman, and German traditions; and these they could keep alive, even without quite understanding them, until the day came when they might be carried out more fully and harmoniously; and more might be made of them

than had been possible even in the days, and in the countries which had given them birth. That has been the slow, but glorious *rôle* in human history of these English Parliaments, of which that Palace of Westminster at which you are looking is the shrine: a spot most sacred in human history, and far more closely interesting to the generations that are to come than the great Hall of the Panegyries of Egypt. The History of the freedom of Religion, of Speech and of the Press, of Commerce, and of political, and almost of human freedom, is the History of these English Parliaments.

And now we must take off our thoughts from these two great agents in modern English society, which have had so preponderant a share in developing and shaping the growth of modern England, the symbols of which we have been looking upon, and must turn our thoughts to the great city itself, of the existence of which we are reminded, at the spot where we have taken our stand, chiefly by a few lordly mansions, glimpses of which we catch here and there through the trees. What variety of life is stirring within this surrounding city! How much energy and power, and how much waste of power, and neglect of opportunity, are there! What principles are struggling into existence—what principles are dying out! What a conflict of principles is going on! We shall think not only of the lordly mansions environing the parks that are spread out before us, but equally of the commercial city on the banks of the river, and of the moiling and toiling, the rough and gin-drinking myriads of the manufacturing quarters of this world-capital. We shall, in our thoughts, set by the side of what is refined, and intellectual, and energetic, what is frivolous and enfeebled, what is rough, and degraded, and vicious.

We shall become sensible of the uncertainties, as well as of the power, of the great intellectual and moral organism that is at work all around us.

How much is there that is good and hopeful in all classes, and how much in all that is evil, and evil enough almost to cause despondency! How vast and complex is the whole! Your thought enables you to understand that the railway and the telegraph have made the city in which you are standing the centre of English business and life, in a manner that was impossible formerly; and more than that, for the ocean steamers and electric cables have made it the centre of the business of the world. How does the imagination, when stirred by the suggestions of the scene, picture to itself the fashion in which are peopled the decks and saloons of the great steamships that are hurrying, outward and homeward, on all seas and oceans, to carry out the plans that have been originated and matured here! You think, too, of the countless messages that are flashing to and fro, beneath those seas and oceans, every moment, for the same purpose. Here is the heart of the world. The blood, in the form of human thought, is ever going forth from this heart, and coming back to it again. How many tens of thousands of steam-engines, in as many mines and factories, are throbbing and working to supply the wants and maintain the wealth of this manifold Babylon we have built. Of this wealth we see an exhibition here every day; for this is the spot for the daily parade of one of its braveries. How have the corn-fields and meadows of this island been solicited year by year to yield more and more; and how widely have Australian and African wildernesses been peopled with flocks and herds for the enlargement of this wealth. This has

on its surface only a material aspect. It is true that its first and most obvious result is to give wealth, and the enjoyment of wealth; and that neither of these are necessarily and in themselves good: for if wealth lead only to the fruition of wealth it is deadening, corrupting, and degrading: and of this there is in the city around you much. But, however, this is not all its effect. It has given to many minds culture and leisure, which they have devoted to advancing the intellectual wealth of man; and it has produced many who have devoted themselves to the improvement of the moral condition of those with whom they come in contact. Which of the two preponderate, the good or the bad effect, we need not attempt to estimate here. But to whichever side the balance may incline at the present moment, we believe that the bad will perish, as it has done in past times, and that the good only will survive.

And now we turn from the many who are wealthy to the greater many who are poor, and are carrying on a painful struggle for bare existence, in this vast assemblage of humanity: and here, too, we find mingled with the good much that is evil. Here, as with the wealthy, are aims that are unwise, springing from moral instincts which have been allowed to form themselves, and which tend in the individual to unhappiness and degradation, and in society to disorder and subversion.

All this must be taken in by the mind in order that the scene before us may be rightly understood. We could not interpret the scenes of old Egypt till we had worked out the analysis of what old Egypt was, and we must endeavour to do the same for our corresponding English scene. It is in this way only that

the study and understanding of old Egypt can be of any use to us. It is only when we understand both that we are in a position to ask the question whether old Egypt has anything to teach us.

It tells us that the aims of society must be moral; and that the morality required can, within certain limits, be shaped, and made instinctive. But as we look upon old Egypt we see that the morality we need is not precisely what they imagined, and established; and that we are precluded from attempting to establish what we want in the fashion of old Egypt. Theirs was a system of constraint, ours must be a system of freedom. Theirs was a system that concentrated its highest advantages on a few, ours must be a system that opens its advantages to all. We must present what we have to offer in such a form that men will voluntarily accept it, and allow it to shape them. If we see distinctly what we have to do, and the conditions under which we have to do it, this will be in itself the achievement of half our work. Their method was to devise a system, and place it as a yoke upon society. They could do that: we cannot. Our method must be accepted freely by society, and by the individual. It must be such as approves itself to the understanding, and the conscience of the men of these times.

Egypt, Israel, Greece, Rome, each did the work that had been allotted to it. What we have to do is not to repeat what any one of them did. That, indeed we could not do; and, if we could, it would be of no use to us. Imitations at all times, but more particularly when circumstances differ, are worthless. And yet what each of them did is necessary for us. The

work we have to do is a great advance upon theirs, and is to be done under very different conditions from theirs, but is so connected with theirs that we cannot dispense with their foundations, or with the principles they worked with. We need them all, but we must use them in the way our work requires. When men came to build with stone, they did not abandon all the principles of construction they had worked out for themselves during the time they had built with wood. Those principles were right as far as they went. They were not all bad, and worthless, and inapplicable to the new material, and its grander possibilities. What had to be done was to incorporate the new principles that were needed with those from among the old that would still be serviceable. The purpose, and object of building, whatever the materials might be, continued one and the same. And so, now that we have come to use glass, and iron largely in architecture, the same process is again repeated. Some new principles may be introduced, but we do not discard all the old ones. Just so is it with the social fabric.

The great and governing differences in our case are that what we have to do is to be done for all, and that this is accompanied with the condition of not partial, but universal freedom. It never was so with any of the old peoples. And though our work is new in some of its conditions, and such as, in its reach and variety, was never dreamt of by the four great teacher nations of antiquity, there is no more reason for our failing in it than there was for their failing in theirs. That it is to be done is, in some sort, proof that it may be done. Indeed, we apparently have more reason for expecting success than they had. We have their experience; and in the principles of universal

freedom, and universal justice, we have more to commend what ought to be done now to men's hearts and understandings than they had. Freedom, knowledge, truth, justice, goodness; these must be our aims, our means, our religion. We do not go off the old tracks. They all converge into our path. And so we find that we are advancing, having history for our guide, through new conditions into a richer and better life, placed within the reach of an ever increasing proportion of the community.

The greatest, perhaps, of the advantages that will be found in our wealth is that it will enable us to confer on every member of the community such knowledge, and such training as shall have a preponderant, and hopeful tendency towards making instinctive, at all events in the minds of the greater number, a rational use of the freedom they already possess, and the love, and practice of truth, justice, and goodness. Egypt made instinctive, submission, and order, Israel devotion to right, Athens intellectual culture, the working of the Roman Empire the idea of the brotherhood of mankind. Why should we despair of doing as much for what we need? Our task, indeed, though so much grander, and promising so much more fruit than theirs, does not appear as hard as theirs. If it be beyond our powers, then modern society is but a fermenting mass of disorder, and corruption.

THE END.

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A WINTER IN THE UNITED STATES; BEING TABLE-TALK COLLECTED DURING A TOUR THROUGH THE LATE SOUTHERN CONFEDERATION, THE FAR WEST, THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, &c.

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ERRATA.

Page 15, *line* 26, *for* "illumed" *read* "illumined."
,, 38, ,, 30, ,, "Etrurians" *read* "Etruscans."
,, 69, ,, 19, ,, "about" *read* "more than."
,, 82, ,, 9, ,, "canvass" *read* "canvas."
,, 106, ,, 4, ,, "fortieth" *read* "fourth."
,, 114, ,, 18, ,, "where" *read* "were."
,, 137, ,, 12, ,, "Remeses" *read* "Rameses."
,, 308, ,, 32, ,, "evil-coveting" *read* "evil, coveting."
,, 311, ,, 23, ,, "method" *read* "methods."

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